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EIGHT O'CLOCK CHAPEL

A Study of
New England College Life

THE YALE FENCE

EIGHT O'CLOCK CHAPEL

A Study of New England College Life in the Eighties

BY

CORNELIUS HOWARD PATTON

AND

WALTER TAYLOR FIELD

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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TO
THE CLASS OF
EIGHTEEN EIGHTY-THREE
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FOREWORD

THIS book, we are frank to admit, has to do with a time that is now out of fashion. Yet it was a time of great beginnings — perhaps the most interesting and fruitful period in the history of higher education in the United States — a period which deserves far more attention than it has received. The new psychology has taught us so much in regard to educational theory and practice, and the present age has introduced so many and so great improvements, that we are in danger of forgetting the pioneers who, forty years ago, had the vision and courage to leave the beaten road of educational theory and to break new paths which their successors have still farther extended. This the educators of the eighties, especially those of the New England colleges, certainly did. There were great teachers in those days. By personality and moral earnestness, rather than by high specialization, were they great. We trust that our sketches of men like Charles Eliot Norton, William Graham Sumner, Charles Edward Garman, Arthur Latham Perry, E. Benjamin Andrews, and William DeWitt Hyde, inadequate as they are, may be read before one challenges our rating of those years.

We have sought to guard against the illusion due to distance — a fault to which college men are peculiarly prone. 'Beware the reminiscing alumnus!' remarks a friend. A professor with whom we have corresponded, in calling attention to certain improvements in college morale, confesses that too easily we become 'lauda-

tores temporis acti.' On the other hand, there is the bias of the closer view, resulting, as so often happens, in an overestimate of the present and a belittling of the past. Feeling this to be true, we have tried to steer our course between the two dangers; we have been close observers of the college life of the present time, as we were participants in that of forty years ago.

To gain in detail and to give to the book the authority of personal experience, we have limited our subject to the leading New England colleges of the period under discussion, and not only that, but more strictly to the New England colleges for men — Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Brown, Bowdoin, Wesleyan, and Tufts — though the last two were for a time coeducational. The women's colleges and the coeducational colleges offered other conditions which we have not attempted to set forth except incidentally.

When it comes to acknowledgments, we scarcely know how to express our sense of obligation — so many have been ready to help. The list includes some forty persons — busy professors in the colleges dealt with, who willingly answered a most exacting questionnaire; prominent alumni in every walk of life, who expressed an interest in our work and compared notes with us; college librarians who opened up their stores of historical memorabilia and stood ready to guide our investigations in a most generous way. Toward them all we feel a debt of gratitude which anything we can say here only feebly expresses. While one or the other of us had the advantage of personal experience at three of the colleges in the list — Amherst, Dartmouth, and Yale — in respect to the others we have relied upon

the help of their own professors and graduates. Several of these have aided us by a reading of the sections of the book relating to their own institutions. We feel under special obligation to the following friends:

Harvard: Professors Byron S. Hurlbut and Edward C. Moore; Messrs. E. L. Gookin and Milton E. Lord, of the Widener Library; former President Charles F. Thwing, of Western Reserve University (Harvard, '76); Judge Alonzo R. Weed, '87; Mr. John A. Blanchard, '91.

Yale: Professors Benjamin W. Bacon and Albert G. Keller; Librarian Andrew Keogh; Miss Anne S. Pratt, Reference Librarian; Reverend Samuel C. Bushnell, '74; Mr. Martin Welles, '82; Mr. William R. Moody, '91; Mr. William G. Low, Jr., '97.

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Dewey, '84; Mr. Henry W. Austin, '88; Dr. George L. Richardson, '88; Rev. Carroll Perry, '90.

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Bowdoin: Mrs. William DeWitt Hyde; Dean Paul Nixon; Librarian Gerald G. Wilder; Mr. Edgar O. Achorn, '81; Mr. George F. Cary, '88; Professor Daniel Evans, of Harvard (Bowdoin, '90); Judge Harry C. Fabyan, '93; Mr. John Clair Minot, '96.

Wesleyan: Dean Frank W. Nicolson; Professor Morris B. Crawford; Mr. Ferris Greenslet, '97.

Tufts: Mr. Ira Rich Kent, '99.

Librarians: Reverend Frederick T. Persons and Miss Emma E. White, of the Congregational Library of Boston; Mr. W. R. Spofford, of the Library of the University Club of Chicago; Mr. E. D. Tweedell, of the John Crerar Library of Chicago.

The preparation of the book has proved a pastime in the midst of more serious, or at least more pressing, pursuits, and the writing of every page has been a labor of love. However the book may be received, our reward is in the happy recollections which have come back to us out of the by-gone years.

C. H. P.
W. T. F.

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CHAPTER I

THE EIGHTIES

To the younger generation of to-day the eighties seem but a slight remove from antiquity. The World War occupies the foreground of history; back of that all is remote, and the eighties are three full decades back into that shadowy distance. Yet there are living men who remember the eighties as a time of real, vital activity, and — in spite of its deficiencies — as a time when many of the things that we call modern had their rise.

We are to examine particularly the New England colleges in the eighties, but first of all it will be worth while to consider the background and to recall in general the life and atmosphere of that period.

At the beginning of the decade the reconstruction of the South had been completed. President Hayes, after a stormy administration, attacked by the spoilsmen of his own party and scorned as a pretender by all good Democrats, had conscientiously finished his work and had been consigned to political oblivion. Ex-President Grant, having made a triumphal journey around the world, had yielded to the solicitations of his friends and had consented to have his name placed before the Republican Convention as a candidate for reëlection for a third term. That picturesque figure, James G. Blaine, of Maine, 'the plumed knight,' as Robert G. Ingersoll

had dubbed him, believing that his failure to receive the nomination four years before entitled him to receive it now, strove against Grant and against John Sherman, Hayes's Secretary of the Treasury, and went down to defeat, dragging with him both of his competitors. Garfield was nominated as a compromise, was elected, and began an unquiet administration which was cut short within four months by the bullet of a disappointed office-seeker.

The West was as yet largely unsettled. There was but one line of railroad — the Union Pacific — across the continent. This had been completed with impressive ceremonies some ten years earlier and was afterward followed by the Southern Pacific in 1881 and by the Santa Fé and the Northern Pacific in 1883. At the beginning of the decade a few frontier towns stretched themselves along the one trans-continental road and along the older wagon trails, but for the most part the country was still uninhabited, and the last of the native herds of bison still roamed over sections of Texas, Kansas, and Montana.

In the West the cowboy was king and rounded-up his herds on lands unfenced and often unclaimed. He was not only king, but also judge, jury, and prosecuting attorney. If a 'rustler' or cattle thief molested his herds, he took matters into his own hands and promptly meted out punishment. In the ten years between 1876 and 1886, vigilantes on the cattle ranches of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana are said to have shot more men than have been legally executed since that time in any six States of the Union.[1] Life was cheap on the plains, and it was no uncommon thing still to find

[1] Sparks: *National Development.*

gangs of half-drunken cowboys 'shooting up' a frontier town for the mere love of adventure. As late as 1882 President Arthur was obliged to send federal troops into Arizona to check these lawless bands.

On the Pacific coast the Chinese question was disturbing the peace of the laboring man, and Dennis Kearney on the 'sand-lots' of San Francisco was inciting his hearers to make the city warm for the Orientals — which they promptly did. The Indians, after suffering fifteen years of systematic deception and robbery at the hands of government agents and making spasmodic efforts to assert themselves by means of massacres and uprisings, were at last pacified and allowed themselves, as in the notable cases of the Nez Percés and Poncas, to be driven about from reservation to reservation whenever their lands became valuable to the white man. It was not until the latter part of the decade (1887) that the Government began to treat the Indians as individuals and to allot them lands in severalty.

At the beginning of the eighties the country was on the crest of a wave of prosperity. It had recovered from the panic of '73, and — thanks to the two bountiful harvests of '79 and '80 and a corresponding shortage of crops in Europe — business of every kind was advancing with a rush.[1] Specie payment had been resumed in 1879, and the danger of an excessive silver surplus had been happily averted by the increased demands of trade.

With prosperity came its attendant speculation. Jay Gould loomed on the financial horizon — the juggler of railroads and wizard of high finance. Small

[1] Noyes: *Forty Years of American Finance.*

lines were absorbed, and railway 'systems' began to be talked about. Before this absorption of the smaller roads began, the railways of the United States were in the hands of more than fifteen hundred different companies and their patronage came from a large number of small shippers.[1] But conditions soon changed. Combination followed combination, and the railway interests of the country were soon controlled by an oligarchy of which Gould was the master spirit.

What happened to the railroads also happened in other lines of business. It was the beginning of the trust era. The first of the great corporations was the New Jersey Zinc Company, chartered in 1880; the second was Standard Oil, organized in 1881 and chartered the year following. The same year (1881) saw the merger of the Western Union and American Union Telegraph Companies.

A minor result of the combination of railroads was the adoption of standard time. At the beginning of the decade each railroad used its own time and generally followed the local time of the towns and cities through which it passed. A traveler going from Boston to Washington, if he would follow the time-tables, must set his watch five times. Another result of the absorption of the smaller railroads was the replacement of iron rails with steel, making traffic safer and more rapid.

The development of the railroads led to an increased demand for iron and steel, and this brought about the extension of the Marquette iron mines and the opening of the Gogebic and Menominee regions. Refrigerator cars were introduced, and fresh — that is to say un-

[1] Poor: *Manual of Railways.*

salted — meat was first shipped from the stockyards of Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard.

To keep the railroads in check, river traffic was encouraged by the Government, and appropriations were made for the improvement of the Mississippi and other midland streams. Captain Eads, a few years before, had finished his jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi and had compelled the great river to dredge its own channel. This made New Orleans practically a seaport and greatly stimulated the commerce of the South.

Labor troubles occupied the attention of the country during most of the decade. The historic railway strikes of 1877 had stirred up elements that refused to be quieted. The Knights of Labor, existing as a secret organization since 1869, abandoned its secrecy in 1881 and took an important part in the labor controversies of the decade. The American Federation of Labor was the outgrowth of a workingmen's convention held in Terre Haute during the same year (1881), though the organization was not formally accomplished until 1886. It is estimated that in the six years between 1881 and 1886, inclusive, nearly four thousand strikes occurred in the United States, involving 1,323,000 employees, both men and women, and entailing a loss of nearly sixty million dollars to the strikers, and thirty-four million to the employers.[1] The causes of these strikes were, first, the rapacity of the employers, and, second, the growing realization of the power of organized labor. The situation becomes clearer when we read that in 1877, at the time of the first great railroad strikes, freight brakemen and firemen on the Baltimore & Ohio road received an average wage of $1.50 to $1.75

[1] Wright: *Industrial Evolution of the United States.*

per day, and that in 1880 woollen-mill operatives received $1.24 a day, shoemakers $1.76, printers $2.18, carpenters $2.42, and masons $2.79. Farm laborers averaged $1.31 and board.[1]

It was an era of reform, at a time when reform was sadly needed. The spoils system, which had run riot during Grant's administration and which Hayes had tried in vain to curb, became an issue in politics. President Garfield's assassination was taken by many as a direct result of this system, and soon after his death President Arthur revived the Civil Service Commission. Grover Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo in 1881 on a reform ticket, and governor of New York a year later on the same issue. Women's rights were seriously discussed. Local option became an issue, and the two States of Maine and Kansas went 'dry.'

Religion, hide-bound for centuries, was beginning to feel the liberalizing influence of modern thought. Evolution was spoken of in whispers by Christian people who were troubled at the apparent conflict between the teachings of science and the Church. Henry Drummond's 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World' attempted to bridge the chasm and thousands of readers gave a sigh of relief to feel that science and religion were not incompatible. Henry Ward Beecher was filling Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, to its doors, with crowds anxious to hear the liberalizing doctrine of the spiritual life applied to daily affairs. In another Brooklyn church — the Tabernacle — T. DeWitt Talmadge was trying to do much the same thing in a more spectacular way, winning applause from the multitude and being criticized as a buffoon by both orthodox and

[1] Wright: *op. cit.*

unbelievers. Phillips Brooks, in Boston, was preaching a gospel of sanity and good will to men, and Joseph Cook was lecturing to audiences which would listen spellbound to his theological disquisitions. The Revised Version of the New Testament appeared in 1881.

Literature was making itself felt as a force in life. Boston was then the literary center of America. Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Emerson, and Holmes were still living and writing. Bryant had been dead but two years. The theater was at the height of its influence. Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett were playing Shakespearean rôles, Joseph Jefferson was giving his inimitable impersonation of Rip van Winkle, Joshua Whitcomb was appearing nightly in 'The Old Homestead,' Mary Anderson and Modjeska were dividing honors as stars of the first magnitude.

So much for general conditions; but if we ignore these and look simply at the things which any chance visitor might see with a reasonably good pair of eyes, there would appear sights to which the present age is unaccustomed. On Broadway, for example, the stranger would see fashionable ladies enveloped in a confused jumble of flounces, loops, bows, and streamers, which spread out behind into a train that swept the sidewalk. It was immodest in those days for a woman to show more than the tips of her shoes. He would see dandies with flowing side whiskers, known familiarly as 'burnsides,' after the name of the military hero who popularized them. He would see heavy mustaches that seemed always in their owners' way. Men drank their coffee through a hole in the top of a partly covered cup, in order to save these prideful things from immersion. Hair was esteemed more highly then than now, and in

1880 even a beard was not a reproach. The fashionably dressed man, besides his hirsute adornments, affected plaids from three to four inches in each dimension. The trend of dress at that time seemed to culminate in an effort to be seen. Perhaps it was in line with the expansion and vigor of the age.

The visitor would see high bicycles in Central Park and on Riverside Drive — their riders perched perilously upon the topmost point, inviting fate. He would see 'buses jolting over the cobble-stones of Broadway, and, if he had the hardihood, he might, upon payment of five cents, ride in one of them — at the imminent risk of dislocating his neck. Or, if he wished to go uptown, he might take a West Side elevated train drawn by a steam locomotive, and go as far as Fifty-Eighth Street.

He might use the telephone, which was then considered a novelty, and might talk with a friend even as far away as Elizabeth, New Jersey. He might smoke his cigar of an evening under the glare of the sputtering arc light in front of the Astor House. The arc light, too, was a novelty, and it was thought that electricity would soon displace gas as a means of lighting — a prediction which was rapidly fulfilled; for a young inventor named Edison was experimenting with the incandescent lamp and within a few years it came into general use.

The visitor would see no automobiles or electric cars, though both these conveyances began to appear during the decade.[1] He would see no Bartholdi statue and no Hudson River tunnels, but would assuredly be asked

[1] The first trolley car was put into commission in 1882, the first electric light in 1879, the first telephone in 1877. Muzzey: *The United States of America*, vol. II.

to show his admiration for the Brooklyn Bridge — the first of these great structures — which was then nearing completion.

On the whole he would find himself in the midst of a time of great beginnings. Inventions, building, transportation, business, were receiving a new impulse and entering upon a period which has extended to the present time. If the World War had not drawn its mark across our history and made a new dividing line, we should think of the eighties as being the beginning of our modern American life.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE

It was more apparent in the eighties than it is to-day that the New England colleges are the quintessence of New England character and life. Having emerged as a fairly distinct type of educational institution, they took a laudable pride in maintaining the prestige arising from that fact. There is such a thing — a composite thing, to be sure, but none the less real — as *the* New England College. The name has become generic. It suggests a certain type and arrangement of buildings, a certain educational and religious tradition, a certain atmosphere of culture, a certain charm of student days. Parents in the Far West who scarcely know the difference between Harvard and Yale, Williams and Amherst, and to whom Bowdoin and Bates are little more than names, yet desire to have their sons, at least one of their sons, educated in a New England college. We have heard of a fond father who made the tour of the older colleges of the group, called on the presidents, quizzed the deans, observed the boys along the streets, and plodded through the various buildings, before fixing upon the institution which should have the privilege of receiving his precious boy. Probably the boy knew where he was going all the time.

Some one ought to discover a symbol for the quite intangible something which pervades these New England schools. The inimitable Mr. Leacock has done as much for Oxford. In his book, 'My Discovery of England,' we see him conversing with Oxford dons,

wandering through the quadrangles and closes, watching the students at work and play, dining in the great halls and even nosing about in the ancient kitchens, in the hope that he may penetrate the mystery of Oxford's life. Little, from the standpoint of America, does he find to commend as making for educational efficiency, yet Oxford, he acknowledges, is a 'huge success.' Where lies the secret? His whimsical conclusion will be recalled: 'Viewing the situation as a whole, I am led to the conviction that there must be something in the life of Oxford itself that makes for higher learning. Smoked at by his tutor, fed in Henry VIII's kitchen, and sleeping in a tangle of ivy, the student evidently gets something not easily obtained in America. And the more I reflect on the matter the more I am convinced that it is the sleeping in the ivy that does it.' [1] The charm of this suggestion will appeal to any one who has enjoyed even for a single night the hospitality of an Oxford quadrangle.

But the English ivy is not for us. First of all, it refuses to flourish on New England college walls, and that in spite of the orations and poems and hymns of graduating classes from most ancient times. Alas! the more hardy Japanese variety has for the most part taken its place. Moreover, we need a symbol of our own, something *sui generis*, a product of New England soil — robust rather than clinging. The elm is a better symbol of the New England college — *Ulmus americana* — which flourishes in New England meadows and along New England highways as nowhere else in all the world. Graceful in contour, tough in fiber, shading ancestral homes, forming Gothic avenues of green for

[1] Leacock: *My Discovery of England*, p. 110.

college halls — what more appropriate emblem can be named! They sing at New Haven, ''Neath the elms of dear old Yale,' but Yale can be allowed no proprietary rights in this tree. Cambridge has elms of no small reputation; they grow in rare perfection in the Connecticut Valley; they flourish in the Berkshires; they cast their beneficent shade in Rhode Island and in Maine. Around what other object gather so many memories of New England college days!

The Common Origin and Purpose

When Williams College was celebrating its Centennial in 1893, the orator of the occasion, Dr. James H. Canfield, went back three centuries to the Protestant Reformation to explain why Colonel Williams was led to plant a certain type of school in the wilderness of northwestern Massachusetts. The historical accuracy of this judgment cannot be challenged; but where is one to stop in tracing through Anglo-Saxon history the source of the New England college idea?

President Eliot, in his 'Harvard Memories'[1] bids us read the inscription on 'Johnston Gate,' the principal entrance to the Harvard Yard, if we would understand the motive which led to the founding of the first college on American soil. The inscription is a quotation from 'New England's First Fruits' (written in 1643) and refers to the establishment of Harvard College in 1636. It is worth citing in full.

After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries from our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and setled the Civil Government; One of the next things we longed for,

[1] Page 1.

and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to have an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect the great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman, and a lover of Learning, then living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700£) towards the erecting of a College, and all his Library; after him another gave 300£ others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest; the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodate and is called according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge.

It was, indeed, a happy thought to inscribe these words in such a place. Johnston Gate reminds us of the close relationship between the college of the New World and of the Old. Standing there one thinks of Old Cambridge and how the ideals of English culture were transferred bodily — if one may so speak — to the new soil. It is a striking fact, commented upon by historians, that between 1630 and 1649 no less than a hundred university men emigrated to the wilderness of New England. Of these some seventy — John Harvard among them — were from Old Cambridge, and brought with them its atmosphere of progress and of adaptation to a rapidly changing world. Such a preponderance of educated, characterful men is unparalleled in the history of colonization. From the start, New England was a college-led community, and its leaders lost no time in proclaiming their purpose to the world, since only six years elapsed between the settling of Massachusetts Bay and the founding of Harvard.

Johnston Gate also suggests the high idealism of the

enterprise. They were concerned for an educated ministry in the Church. Harvard to-day takes pride in this fact. Her attitude is significant of many things in New England's development, but particularly in this evolving of the college idea. The motive broadened through the years as other professions came to share with the ministry in the direction of public affairs. Yet the purpose remained the same, to bind education with religion and to direct both toward the highest welfare of the State. The Johnston Gate, in a way, may be considered the entrance to every college campus in New England.

From Harvard the college idea spread throughout the New England area and with more rapidity than one could expect. A treatise might be written on the beginnings of higher education of New England, by way of showing how the colleges and academies, one and all, are rooted in John Harvard's suggestion of 1636. It will be found that Harvard's claim to be the mother institution of the land rests on substantial foundations of fact.

As for Yale, it is known that the plans of the early settlers of New Haven in 1638 included the establishment of a college on the Harvard plan, but that Massachusetts objecting on the ground that New England could not support more than one such institution, the idea was abandoned. The actual Yale dates from 1700, when ten of the Congregational ministers of Connecticut, all but one of whom were graduates of Harvard, at a meeting at Branford launched a collegiate institution by the simple process of each making a gift of books for a library. A charter was granted by act of the Colonial Assembly, in 1701, and these ten

ministers and their successors were made the trustees of 'The Collegiate School of Connecticut.' As in the case of Harvard the primary purpose was declared to be the training of young men for the ministry.

Williams College was founded in 1793, as a result of the will of Ephraim Williams, a man of affairs of western Massachusetts, who became a colonel in the French and Indian War. Not being a college man nor one conspicuous for piety, it is not superficially apparent how Colonel Williams's school grew out of the traditions of Harvard and Yale. The connectional element, however, is found in the fact that nine of the original thirteen trustees were graduates of Yale, the leading professors were Yale men, while the curriculum was adopted almost bodily from the New Haven institution, circumstances of large significance in the subsequent development of the college, as Professor Arthur Latham Perry, in his history of Williams, takes pains to point out.

From Williams, by a process of excision rather than by reproduction, came Amherst. The withdrawal of President Zephaniah Swift Moore with fifteen of his students (nearly one third of the enrollment) in 1821, to become head of the new college in the Connecticut Valley which had grown out of Amherst Academy,[1] established a connection which has been maintained with increasing intimacy through the years. No two American colleges are more alike. Harvard — Yale —

[1] 'Amherst Academy was founded in 1814, and soon attracted pupils from all over the state.... In 1820 the trustees voted to raise funds [to establish a college] and erect a suitable building — which is the present South College.... In May, 1821, Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore was elected president.' Professor John M. Tyler: *Address at the Amherst Centennial.*

Williams — Amherst — thus far the succession is clear. Amherst, however, may claim a direct spiritual kinship with the Cambridge institution by reason of the fact that her founders indulged in the dream that she would become the 'Harvard of the West.' Separated from the settlements on the coast by the wilderness known as Worcester County, yet loyal to the Massachusetts tradition and name, they planned for a college of their own which should be 'as good as any in New England.' Again Harvard proved to be an unwilling parent, and the scheme was opposed on the ground that Massachusetts was unable to support another college of the type proposed. As a consequence the granting of a charter to the new institution was held up in the General Court of Massachusetts for two years. It is interesting to find that even so late as 1821 the raising up of a scholarly ministry was held to be the main purpose of a New England college. Amherst, like the others, was to be a School of the Prophets.

In the case of Dartmouth, whose founding antedates both Williams and Amherst, the attitude of Harvard was distinctly friendly. Evidently a child so far away would not become a dangerous rival. Dartmouth originated in Moor's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, New Hampshire, in 1750, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, pastor of the Lebanon Church, being the inspiring cause. When in 1769 it was proposed to remove the school to the present site in Hanover and to raise it to the grade of a classical college, support was sought and obtained from the General Court of Massachusetts Bay and from generous individuals of New England who realized that from so remote a corner students could not be expected to journey to Cambridge or

New Haven. Most vigorously, however, was the strict New England type maintained.

Bowdoin has been called the Dartmouth of Maine. This probably arises from the fact that her first two presidents were Dartmouth men and from her similar location in what was then a remote corner of New England. Her connection with Harvard, however, is more vital. Chartered in 1794, at the request of an association of Congregational clergymen of Maine who, with a single exception, were graduates of Harvard, from the beginning the college was looked upon as one of Harvard's children. It is significant that the first building erected was called 'Massachusetts Hall,' and that the charter guarded against the separation of science and literature from religion. The actual work of the college did not begin until 1802. In the Boston Public Library are two documents which record an interesting connection between Bowdoin and Williams. It appears that the Massachusetts General Court, in 1805 and again in 1809, upon the request of the trustees of Williams, made extensive grants of land in the District of Maine to enable the college to enlarge its course of study, in one case an entire township being transferred. In some way not apparent Bowdoin also came to have an interest in these lands, since in 1820 the treasurer of Bowdoin wrote to the trustees of Williams suggesting that as joint owners of seven thousand acres in Sullivan County, situated on Frenchman's Bay, they should arrange to have the tract surveyed and offered for sale.[1]

[1] *Scrapbook containing sketches of Williams and Bowdoin Colleges*, by Butler, with original documents; Boston Public Library. It is fair to infer that in making these grants the Massachusetts Legislature felt that if the people in the extreme western section of the State were to have a

Middlebury goes back to the dreams of the early settlers of Vermont. From the first they expected that in due time a college would be established that would in its influence be the same to Vermont that Harvard had been to Massachusetts, and Yale to Connecticut. The idea took shape in 1800 when the father of Jeremiah Evarts, on his way to New Haven to place his son in college, expressed his regret that he was forced to send the boy to such a distance because there was no college in Vermont.

Brown University, according to the popular notion, started as an off-shoot of Harvard and Yale by way of theological protest. The idea prevails and finds expression in the encyclopædia articles, that the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in 1764, was led to grant a charter for a college because of religious tests at the existing colleges, or disabilities attached to Baptist students. Professor Walter C. Bronson, in his history of Brown, examines the evidence and finds no justification for such a charge. On the contrary, Baptist young men were welcomed at both Harvard and Yale. Professor Bronson finds that at Harvard no religious tests for students had ever been countenanced; on the contrary some of the Hollis scholarships, in accordance with a provision of the donor, an English Baptist, were given by preference to Baptist students. At Yale the temper was more severe, yet President Clap could say in print in 1766, 'Persons of all denominations of Protestants are allowed advantages of an education here, and no inquiry has been made, at their admission

high-grade collegiate institution, the settlers in the extreme east should enjoy the same privilege. Nothing could better illustrate the place held by higher education in the minds of New-Englanders at that time.

or afterwards, about their particular sentiments in religion.'[1] Naturally Rhode Island, one hundred and twenty-eight years after her founding, desired to have a higher educational institution of her own, and while the college became Baptist in its affiliations and control, it was arranged from the beginning that there should be no religious test and that other denominations should be represented on the board of trustees.[2]

Similarly, Colby College was chartered by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1813, to meet the desires of the Baptists of Maine, the location being at Waterville.

Trinity College was founded at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1823, by representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was then called Washington College, the present name being adopted in 1843. Wesleyan College at Middletown, in the same State, opened its doors in 1831, and was the first permanent institution of its kind in this country representing the Methodist Episcopal Church. Tufts College of Medford, Massachusetts, was established in 1852 as the institution of the Universalist denomination. Bates College at Lewiston, Maine, was organized in 1863 as the successor of the Maine State Seminary, which dated from 1855. It is co-educational.

Boston University, another co-educational institution, supported largely by the Methodist Church, was chartered in 1869. Of the colleges for women, Mount

[1] Walter C. Bronson: *History of Brown University*, 1914, pp. 4, 5.

[2] An act has recently been introduced into the Rhode Island Legislature amending the charter of Brown University by removing the restriction that the president shall be a Baptist, and providing that members of the board of trustees shall be elected without regard to their religious faith.

Holyoke was founded by Mary Lyon in 1837 as a seminary, and chartered as a college in 1888; Smith College, founded by Sophia Smith of Hatfield, was chartered in 1871 and opened in 1875; Wellesley began its career in 1875, through the support of Henry F. Durant of Boston.

These all, in one way or another, may be considered to have arisen under the compulsion of the New England idea.[1]

It will be seen, then, how strong is the bond between the New England colleges in view of their historical connection and the common ideal of their founders. 'They were all founded,' says President Eliot, 'to bind education to religion.' Notwithstanding an occasional lapse, that exalted purpose, we are fain to believe, has existed to the present time. We shall see that it was particularly prominent in the period to which this book is devoted.

The Puritan Tradition

To the bond of a common origin we must add the prevalence of the Puritan tradition and faith. The New York 'Herald-Tribune,' in an editorial on the

[1] Of other higher institutions of learning established in New England before the eighties, Holy Cross College at Worcester, founded in 1843, and Boston College, in 1863, are under the control of the Roman Catholic Church, and belong to a different type. The University of Vermont, the University of New Hampshire (formerly the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts and for a time affiliated with Dartmouth), and the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, being state institutions, belong also in another class. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, founded in 1861, but not opened to regular classes until 1865, is, as its name implies, a technical school — especially a school of industrial science — of the highest grade and with a modern outlook, but having none of the traditions of the older New England colleges.

personality of Calvin Coolidge, maintained that Puritanism is the most widely distributed trait of American character. If this is so, and we are inclined to think it is, we may attribute it in large measure to the influence of the New England college. Dr. William T. Harris considered this fact to be the basis of our American system of education. 'The Puritan of Massachusetts Bay,' he remarks, 'was well fitted to be the pioneer of a great educational movement, such as has been developed on this continent. Of strong religious convictions and by nature a theologian, he set a very high value upon learning and a learned ministry. Hence his first thought was to found a Christian college.[1]

This may or may not be a welcome consideration for the modern college man to contemplate, but it is true. Professor John M. Tyler expressed the same thought when, in his historical address at the Centennial of Amherst College, he remarked of the founders of that institution, 'Its people were Puritans, the spirit of the Reformation incarnated in an English brain and body. They loved to think of themselves as a "chosen people," and in a sense they were "Israelites indeed." They were the most refractory, stiff-necked, rebellious stock which was ever fused and hammered and welded into the skeleton and sinews of a nation. They live in every one of you to-day whether you rejoice in it or deny it with an oath.'

For ourselves, we are content to have it so. If we may believe that in the freightage of the Mayflower

[1] Harris, in the Introduction to *History of Higher Education in Massachusetts*, 1891, p. 4. Similarly, John Fiske says, 'The Puritan theory of life lay at the bottom of the whole system of popular education in New England.' *Beginnings of New England*, p. 151.

and the other pioneer ships are found the qualities that underlie what is best in American life to-day, it will not be difficult to overlook certain infelicities of the Puritan character. Fortunately, in the building of the chain of institutions which have made New England the training-ground of American youth, we find evidence of the more attractive traits of the founders of New England. It may be said of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and all the rest, that they were the sublimation of Puritan poise, seriousness, devotion to truth, obedience to law, passion for renunciation. Without these beginners and begetters where should we be to-day?

It is frequently averred that the Puritans, especially those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, were sadly lacking in the æsthetic sense. They displayed no love of letters, of music, of art; even the beauty of their hills, it is claimed, breathed upon them in vain. They were people with whom the solemnities of life crowded out the sense of joy. The indictment is traditional and must have considerable basis in fact. Certainly the New England colleges were slow to recognize the function of art and of the artistic sense in the fashioning of a well-rounded man.[1] Yet there was something inherent in that faith which made for beauty as well as for strength. Was it the sense of the perfection of God, or the passion for truth, or familiarity with the noblest of literary works? Explain it as we may, in some mysterious manner the change was wrought from within as well as from without. Milton, Calvinist of the

[1] At Yale the School of Fine Arts was established in 1866, and the School of Music in 1894. As for Harvard, President Eliot in his report for 1880–81 says: 'The Graduate Department of Art can hardly be said to have existed before 1869.'

Calvinists, was also poet and musician, and Milton's faith transported to New England's shores one day was to blossom into an Emerson, a Lowell, a Hawthorne, a Thoreau, a Norton, a James, a Richardson, a Whistler, and many another lover of beauty in all her rarest forms.[1]

The New-Englander's love of freedom must be taken into account if we are to appraise the institutions which arose under his hand. Without shutting our eyes to certain occasions when dogmatism and intolerance have asserted their strength, it may be said that the New England colleges throughout their long career have been characterized by the progressive spirit. This too, we hold, was in the Puritan blood. Attention has been called to the fact that it was not an accident of history that Rousseau came out of Calvinistic Geneva. Pertinent in this connection is the relation between Cambridge old and new. Of the seventy Cambridge men, to whom reference has been made, as emigrating to Massachusetts, we know that twenty were from the new Puritan College of Emmanuel. Among these were John Harvard, John Cotton, and Thomas Hooker. The founder of Emmanuel was Sir John Mildmay, who made that famous reply to Queen Elizabeth. Questioned as to his purpose he replied: 'Madam, far be it from me to do aught against the laws of your realm; but I have planted an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God only knoweth what it will amount to.'

[1] In speaking of Harvard's indebtedness to the Puritans, James Russell Lowell said, 'Our Puritan ancestors have been misrepresented and maligned by persons without imagination enough to make themselves contemporary with, and therefore able to understand, the men whose memories they strive to blacken.' *Democracy and Other Addresses*, p. 198.

Deep as are the roots of liberty in every department of New England life, we must not claim too much for the early days when toleration was yet unborn. We are to remember there was a time when freedom meant freedom for one's self but not for the rest. Professor Tyler, in the same address from which we have quoted, describes how the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay founded settlements where 'they could worship God, think and do as they would, and send everybody else to Rhode Island for his health.' As an offsetting fact he also reminds us that the Reverend Mr. Hooker chafed under this iron rule, and emigrating to the Connecticut Valley, founded Hartford and Springfield, where for a time at least, religion and education took on a more plastic form.

What is clear and pertinent is the fact of freedom from the control of Church or State and the offering of an open and fair field for discussion on every vital theme. As President Henry Hopkins remarked at the Williams Centennial, 'There has been no hierarchy with vested privileges to be preserved, naturally interested to maintain the existing order through love of place, of power, and of gain, and more than this, society at the beginning contained in itself . . . the forces and conditions which must work the cure of its own narrowness and severity, which guaranteed the evolution from its own best elements of something better than itself.' That something, President Hopkins went on to say, is the college of the New England type which, 'untrammelled by Church and State, yet fostered by both, is the most comprehensive illustration which this free land affords of freedom of thought and action.' [1]

[1] From the Centennial Sermon.

It is significant in the history of education that these New England colleges, although deeply religious in purpose and founded for the most part for the training of the ministry, are yet unsectarian in character. With the exception of Harvard — and that for the brief period when the Congregational Church was the State Church of Massachusetts — and Yale, whose traditions until recent years called for a majority of Congregational clergymen of Connecticut in her corporation, and Brown, whose Baptist proclivities persisted to recent times, these institutions throughout their history have been free of ecclesiastical control. In spirit they have been free for at least a century and a half.

In the closing stanza of 'Fair Harvard' we have an indication of how strongly and lovingly the Puritan tradition possessed the imagination of the college men of the earlier day.

'Farewell! be thy destinies onward and bright!
To thy children the lesson still give,
With freedom to think, and with patience to bear,
And for right ever bravely to live.
Let not moss-cover'd error moor thee at its side,
As the world on truth's current glides by;
Be the herald of light, and the bearer of love,
Till the stock of the Puritans die!'

New England Scenery

It must be remembered that the New England colleges had also a community of interest in the simple fact of propinquity and a sharing in the scenic beauties of New England's meadows, hills, and indented coast. By topography and climate New England became the breeding-ground of a hardy and unique race of men.

Its distinct character is recognized even in these days of varied transit and rapid intercommunication. It was still more the case in the olden time. Almost from the beginning it was felt that New England had her own life to live, her own work to do. And it was no mere chance that led her pioneers to locate their institutions for the training of youth in places of rare beauty and charm — Harvard on the banks of the Charles, close to the incomparable coast-line of Massachusetts Bay; Yale on the quiet waters of Long Island Sound; Williams in the fairest spot of the Berkshire region; Dartmouth among the rugged hills of the upper Connecticut Valley; Amherst, Holyoke, Smith, Trinity, Wesleyan, among the encircling hills of the lower Connecticut. Speaking of the Massachusetts section of the Connecticut Valley, Professor John M. Tyler in his Centennial address calls attention to the fact that 'in the little county of Hampshire (Massachusetts), to-day you will find more colleges of liberal education and more students than in any other area of the same size and population in America or the world and before the coming of the colleges it was dotted with academies.' No one can look out over a New England valley with its villages half-revealed, half-concealed by the elms, its white church spires, its gently flowing river, its stretches of meadowland, and its purple mountains encircling all, and not sympathize with the 'old grad' returning from a long residence on the western plains, when he exclaimed, 'This scene has to me a religious value, it opens my soul!'

In this connection one recalls the remark of Henry Ward Beecher to the effect that it was a liberal education simply to live four years at Amherst, and the story

of how one day Dr. Edward Everett Hale was walking arm in arm with Dr. Mark Hopkins at Williamstown, when surveying the landscape he exclaimed, 'You ought to add the names of these mountains to your faculty.' We know of no finer tribute to the scenery of New England as one of the choicest possessions of her sons, than the inscription on the tablet in the wall of the Public Library at Sunderland, Massachusetts, which publishes the fact that one, John Long Graves, erected the building for the use of the inhabitants 'in gratitude to Him who permitted my birth in this most beautiful valley and in honoring and loving remembrance of my father and mother.'

Buckle's theory of the influence of topography and climate upon national character, with which we of the eighties were made familiar, is being revived in these days by geographers like Professor Huntington of Yale, and in so far as it bears upon the psychology of education it must be taken into account as a factor in New England college life. That the charm of environment has not been lost upon the student mind is apparent in many ways, notably in the songs which stir the imagination and live on from age to age. The songs which grip the student heart and express the finer sentiments of college days are to a surprising extent those which depict or suggest the scenes in which those happy days were spent. And so we have 'Fair Harvard,' ''Neath the Elms of Dear Old Yale,' and at Williams that fine hymn of Dr. Washington Gladden's, 'The Mountains,' not to mention a score of lesser lyrics of college life. Bring together a group of New England college men and start them 'reminiscing,' and ten to one they will be dwelling upon the delights of

New England out-of-doors and of the fellowships of the fields and hills.

The College and the World

It might be supposed that a group of institutions removed from the world of affairs and working in the academic seclusion of the olden days, would become provincial in outlook and life. There have been periods and places where an accusation of this nature might be, and probably has been, maintained. The New England colleges have not been immune from the sin of smugness, 'which doth so easily beset us.' Intellectual snobbery, mental absorption, dreamy self-content, find an easy entrance to college halls. We have heard it intimated that Oxford men have a 'superiority complex' all their own. No one knows when they first began to talk of 'Harvard indifference,' but it was in the long ago.

What we maintain is that on the whole the colleges of New England have been remarkably free from this sort of thing. From the days of the founders they have been conscious of a world in need. The faith of John Harvard, of Elihu Yale, of Eleazer Wheelock, of Noah Webster, was a faith expressing itself in social as well as personal ways. Not seclusion for its own sake but for the world's sake has been the rule. The seals of the colleges are suggestive of this point. In the great seal of Harvard, the word Veritas occupies the central position, while above is the motto 'Christo et Ecclesiæ.' Yale's motto is 'Lux et Veritas.' Amherst chose the device of a sun and a Bible illuminating a globe by their united radiance, while underneath are the words 'Terras Irradient.' Says Professor W. S.

Tyler in his history, 'They were resolved to found a college which could face and overcome the ignorance, barbarism, immorality and irreligion which swept over the country after the Revolution. It should take the very best and strongest young men, educate, discipline, and train them; and send them out to be leaders and inspirers of the community.' Similarly, Brown University engraved upon her emblem the words: 'IN DEO SPERAMUS.'

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in commenting upon the organization in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, observed, 'It marked a new epoch in history when for the first time a map of the world was hung in a New England pulpit.' Undoubtedly the New England churches in the early decades of the nineteenth century made a distinct and large contribution to the broadening view of America's religious responsibility and destiny; but it is well to remember that the foreign missionary movement in America arose not from the devotion of New England divines and ecclesiastics, but from the passion of Samuel J. Mills and a group of college sophomores and freshmen, who under the shelter of a haystack during a storm at Williamstown, determined 'in their own persons' to give the benefits of Christianity to the non-Christian world. That this world-embracing movement should have arisen on the initiative of a company of students, at what was then an obscure institution located in a remote corner of the New England wilderness, is indicative of a certain largeness of view inherent in the Puritan conception of God and man. From very early days the sense of a mission was impressed upon the student on every possible occasion. Looking away

from their little corner of the earth, the New England college man could say with Coriolanus, 'There is a world elsewhere.'

It is an impressive witness to the social ideals of higher education that the New England colleges have duplicated themselves to so large an extent in other parts of our country and, indeed, around the world. One should read Dr. Howard A. Bridgman's 'New England in the Life of the World,' published in 1920, in connection with the celebration of the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, in order to realize the breadth of this movement. Among the collegiate institutions cited by Dr. Bridgman as the fruitage of the New England idea are: Hamilton in New York; Marietta, Oberlin, and Western Reserve in Ohio; Olivet in Michigan; Illinois College in Illinois; Beloit, Ripon and Downey in Wisconsin; Grinnell in Iowa; Carlton in Minnesota; Drury in Missouri; Washburn in Kansas; Colorado College in Colorado; Whitman in Washington; Reed in Oregon; Pomona in California. To a large extent these institutions were modeled on the New England plan. In certain cases they traced their parentage to a particular college in New England. For instance, Western Reserve University was considered to be a projection of Yale. Beloit is sometimes spoken of as the Amherst of the West.

As to similar foundations on the foreign field, Dr. Bridgman traces to New England influence the establishment in the Near East of such institutions as Robert College, Constantinople; the American College for Girls, Constantinople; the American University, Beirut; International College, Smyrna. In the Far East he names among others, Doshisha University, Japan;

Yalu University, Changsha (Yale-in-China); Jaffna College, Ceylon; and the American College, India.

In all this educational and philanthropic activity at home and abroad we see a distinct type of Christian education and the presence and bidding of a profound idealism.

The Response of the Eighties

To what extent were the men of the eighties sympathetic toward this background of Puritan tradition and ideal? The chapters that follow should provide the answer to this rather complex question. In this introductory survey certain general considerations only only are in order.

For one thing, the men of the eighties, to a larger extent than was true even a decade later, were themselves of the Puritan strain. The majority of them either came from New England or represented the New England stock then widely scattered over the land. The college classes of those days were relatively small and homogeneous — a fact which helps to explain the large measure of unity which prevailed in the New England group. In the light of the extraordinary growth of the larger institutions it is difficult to realize how much alike they were only four decades ago. At Harvard, between 1880 and 1889, the average size of the graduating class was two hundred and twelve; at Yale, it was one hundred and thirty-four, while Amherst, Williams, and Brown ran considerably under these figures, the discrepancy was by no means what it is to-day.

In the following table there is set forth the status, numerically, of the New-Englander in the colleges of

his own section during the period under survey and at the present time. The years chosen for comparison are the years 1883–86, and the years 1923–26, two college generations exactly forty years apart. Under each college we give the total number of students in the catalogue covering the quadrennium, the total number registering from New England, and the percentage of all from New England.

College	Classes	Total No. Students	No. from New England	Percentage from New England
Amherst	1883–86	334	216	64.7
	1923–26	515	176	34.2
Bowdoin	1883–86	144	141	98.0
	1923–26	498	457	91.2
Brown	1883–86	270	238	88.2
	1923–26	1194	769	64.4
Dartmouth	1883–86	235	198	84.3
	1923–26	1995	976	49.0
Harvard	1883–86	882	581	65.9
	1923–26	2684	1482	55.2
Williams	1883–86	299	89	29.8
	1923–26	630	159	25.2
Yale	1883–86	611	229	37.5
	1923–26	2019	718	35.6

It will be seen that, while the decrease of students from New England during the forty years is marked,

it is not as great in certain institutions as might be supposed. On the basis of the percentage of attendance from New England in 1883–86, the order was as follows:

Bowdoin,	98 per cent	Harvard,	65.9 per cent
Brown,	88.2	Amherst,	64.7
Dartmouth,	84.3	Yale,	37.5

Williams, 29.8 per cent

In 1923–26, the order ran:

Bowdoin,	91.2 per cent	Dartmouth,	49 per cent
Brown,	64.4	Yale,	35.6
Harvard,	55.2	Amherst,	34.2

Williams, 25.2 per cent

Bowdoin and Brown thus maintain their positions as the most purely New England of all the colleges. Williams to-day, as forty years ago, is the least New England of all in the list, a fact sufficiently explained by her location in the extreme northwestern corner of Massachusetts. The largest drop in New England percentage is that of Dartmouth, 35.3 per cent; the smallest is that of Yale, 1.9 per cent. In view of all that has been said as to the influx of 'foreigners' at Harvard it is surprising to find that the drop in attendance from New England has been only 10.7 per cent in forty years. It is to be considered, however, that in these figures no account is taken of the shifting of population in New England itself, resulting in a decided lessening of the proportion of the original stock.[1]

[1] In this connection, it may not be inappropriate to quote the verses published by the *Boston News Bureau*, anent the introduction of new and strange names in the Harvard football teams of recent years as compared with the roster of earlier days:

(1870–1890)

'Endicott kicked to Amory, and Peabody tackled Wrenn;
Cabot punted to Saltonstall, and Gardner made his ten;

16672

There is, unfortunately, no means of knowing to what extent the students who came from out of New England were yet of New England stock. The recurrence of certain names suggests that the family tradition in favor of New England training was strong throughout the West and South, even as it is to-day. The point, however, is that forty years ago the student body was compact and homogeneous. The boy from the farm was much in evidence, especially in the smaller institutions; also the boy from the parsonage and from the home of the schoolmaster. It was a chosen body, but the choosing was done in the home rather than as now in the office of the college dean. First was the earnest purpose in the boy's heart to obtain an education in order that he might be of some large account in the affairs of the world. Often a robust physique, clear head, and resolute will were his only stock in trade. The problem of finance stared him in the face. Then came the family conclave — Should he go to college or not? Was he of sufficient intellectual caliber to make a scholar? Could he be spared from home? Could the family help him out? The minister was called in for advice; the schoolmaster

Hooper-Hooper bucked the center and nearly crossed the line,
Sears interfered for Tudor Prince and everything was fine.'

(1895–1910)

'Brickley tore off sixty yards and kicked a goal as well;
Eddie Mahan went round the end and gave the Elis hell;
O'Brien pasted Rafferty, assisted by Mike Shea,
Shevlin took Kilpatrick's place, and messed up Pat O'Day.'

(1925–on)

'Radnofsky passed to Hyman, and Zarakoff smeared Levine;
Bloomfield punted to Stoneman and Strauss paired up with Stein;
Stronofsky plunged through tackle till stopped by Izzy Rose,
Bernstein made a forward pass but disarranged his nose.'

took a hand in the discussion; the boy wrote for the catalogue of the near-by college; he received a sympathetic reply from the president himself; he decided to make the plunge. We speak, of course, of the typical student of those times, stout of heart and firm of purpose, not of the outer fringe of rich men's sons, who even then, in some instances, were lured by the promise of good times, light work, and a certain social éclat in the home circle.

Yet a change was setting in, and before the decade closed it became apparent that there was to be a broadening of the student constituency among all the New England schools. The introduction of fresh types of American youth, especially those representative of the newer American stock, made for a diversification of the student body, while at the same time it widened the range of the colleges. As early as 1882, President Eliot called attention to the fact that at Harvard their increase of students came in the main from the Middle and Western States. In his report to the corporation he said, 'The slow increase of the native population in New England, the efflux of enterprising young men and well-to-do families to Western States and Territories, and the influx of foreigners, many of whom belong to the Church of Rome, would cause temporarily at least a decline in the New England colleges, were not these colleges fed more and more from other States of the Universe.'

Recurring to our question as to the measure of response to the Puritan idea, it is even more pertinent to note that in the constitution of the boards of trustees, in the make-up of the faculties and in the maintenance of the curriculum, the New England col-

leges were holding rather closely to the traditions of the olden day. Changes impended, some of them of vast importance, as subsequent chapters will show; but the Puritan tradition was still with us. It could scarcely be otherwise when, with rare exceptions, the presidents of the colleges were clergymen of the older New England type, when the leading professorships were filled by clergymen, and when men of the same profession were dominating the boards of trustees. Lest it be supposed that the Puritan tradition was interpreted in a narrow way, it should be said that these clergymen were for the most part scholarly and progressive men. Consider who they were. On the faculty at Yale we find ministers like President Noah Porter, President Timothy Dwight, Professor William G. Sumner; at Dartmouth were President Samuel C. Bartlett, Professor H. E. Parker, Professor C. D. Sanborn; at Williams, President Mark Hopkins, Professor A. L. Perry; at Amherst, President Julius H. Seelye, Professor W. S. Tyler, Professor E. P. Crowell, Professor C. E. Garman; at Bowdoin, President William DeWitt Hyde and Henry Leland Chapman; at Wesleyan, Professor William North Rice.

The list might be greatly extended as representing the flower of the New England ministry. These men, whether filling chairs of philosophy, Greek, Latin, rhetoric, economics, or natural science, were of striking personality and almost without exception they were great teachers. Spending four years under such influence, can we wonder that the boys of the eighties found room in their thinking for the abiding elements of the Puritan tradition?

It is to be remembered also that the conditions of

MASSACHUSETTS HALL, HARVARD, 1869

JOHNSON CHAPEL AND NORTH AND SOUTH COLLEGES, AMHERST

life at the beginning of the eighties made for an easy acceptance of the past. Student life ran on in the old grooves. Simplicity was the order of the day. It was reflected in the architecture of the campus, which was pretty much of a kind. Hollis Hall at Harvard, the Old Brick Row at Yale, Dartmouth Hall at Hanover, Massachusetts Hall at Bowdoin, Johnson Chapel at Amherst, West Hall at Williams, The Old Chapel at Middlebury, enabled the boys to feel at home with colonial days. Alas! for the deterioration in taste which even then was setting in and which in after years resulted in what a graduate of one of the universities characterized as 'a menagerie of architectural oddities.'

Within and without these plain college halls life moved in ways which, from the standpoint of the present, seem rustic in simplicity. This will become apparent in considerable detail in subsequent chapters. It may be remarked here that forty years ago there was no suggestion of what a recent magazine writer refers to as 'the organization complex in our colleges.' The individual student was left far more to himself. There was little to suggest the overcrowding of student life by 'outside activities.' Leisure was supposed to have a place in a well-ordered curriculum. The approximation to Oxford and Cambridge was more apparent. How exceedingly simple, often barrenly so, were the times and conditions out of which most of the students came is indicated by the comment of an Amherst professor to the effect that most of the boys who were brought up upon a farm never saw a really beautiful thing — aside from Nature — until they met the Greek classics and were introduced to the perfections of Greek art.

The simplicity of the curriculum, as it prevailed throughout New England in the early years of the period, contributed to the sense of inheritance from the past, and incidentally proved to be a bond of union between educated men of all college connections. As with the English universities, there was a common culture, based upon the acquisition of the best things of former ages. It was something in the eighties that we could understand the ordinary allusions to classical literature, and if put to it, could converse in a way on classical themes. Apart from the classroom, there was a soaking-up process that would seem to imply that the moisture of accepted learning was in the air.

Thus it will be seen how much more simply ran the way of life in 1880 than it does to-day. There was no flood of students to make difficult the personal equation between teacher and pupil. The problem of numbers did not exist. There were no multifarious courses of study to break up the intellectual unity of the group. There were fewer extra-curriculum activities of students and professors; life was cozy and secure. There were no great endowments, no five-million dollar 'drives.' Poverty ruled in college halls; salaries were small; equipment was meager; the colleges lived and thrived in an atmosphere of financial tightness, if not as severe as in the early days, yet severe enough to develop a spirit of economy and self-sacrifice. The mechanical tendencies of industrial America were not yet largely in evidence; standards were for the most part spiritual and their roots lay deep in the past.

The Dawning of a New Age

And yet, everywhere among the New England col-

leges of the time a new spirit was in the air — the spirit of progress, of the dawning of a new day. Some institutions were in advance of others, but New England's passion for truth dominated them all. The doctrine of evolution which students of certain institutions to-day regard as something new, was becoming domesticated in New England college classrooms; it was working its way into the philosophical chair as well as into the biological laboratory. The application of the modern historical method to the study of the Bible, resulting in the 'higher criticism,' commended itself to the student mind. The German method of scholarship was coming into favor; as a rule, the newer professors were chosen on the basis of a German Ph.D. Specialists in the chairs of astronomy, geology, biology, and economics were upsetting fond notions of the past. America, emerging from the throes of her civil strife, knowing herself to be safely and prosperously democratic, was finding her place in the affairs of a modernizing world.

On every side it was felt that the age was one of promise, that a student issuing from college was facing opportunities unparalleled in history. Baccalaureate sermons, commencement orations, Phi Beta Kappa addresses glowed with the prospects of a wonderful time to come. To all this the typical college boy of the eighties responded with the eagerness of 'a soul on highest mission sent.' He could say with the youthful Wordsworth, in the glow of early revolutionary days,

> 'The ever-living universe,
> Turn where I might, was opening out its glories,
> And the independent spirit of pure youth
> Called forth, at every season, new delights
> Spread round my steps like sunshine o'er green fields.'

CHAPTER III

'THE NEW EDUCATION'

THE fact that gives significance to the decade of the eighties in the history of higher education in America, is this that has just been mentioned — that it marked the beginnings of a transition to a new order. The colleges had been following a system brought from England two centuries before. Though America was a democracy in politics and society, the American college was still singularly autocratic. The greater part of its curriculum was fixed and immutable; its government was despotic. It is true that young men were not compelled to go to college, but having once enrolled and placed themselves under college discipline, they were no longer free. Their studies were marked out for them, their goings and comings were closely scrutinized and their conduct was subjected to a sort of police supervision, the president acting as head policeman and chief of detectives. In a few of the larger colleges he was assisted in his constabulary duties by officers called proctors, one of whom roomed in each of the college dormitories to preserve the peace.

The college had been merely an extension of the school. Young men had been treated as children, and because they had been so treated they behaved very much like children. Responsibility was weakened, independent thinking and the forming of moral judgments were not encouraged; the power of choice being

seldom exercised was undeveloped. The textbook was the all-important and authoritative source of knowledge, and the teacher spent most of the recitation hour in questioning rather than in teaching. As Professor Palmer of Harvard expressed it — writing for the 'Andover Review,' in 1885 — 'Between teacher and scholar there goes on an ignoble game of matching wits, in which the teacher is smart if he can catch a boy, and the boy is smart if he can know nothing without being found out.' The old order was characterized by formalism and repression, and this fact accounts largely for the immaturities of conduct described in another chapter.

The studies of the old curriculum were Latin, Greek, and mathematics. A smattering of German and French was given at some time during the course, and the only semblance of choice which a student had was between those two modern languages, for it was seldom considered necessary to take both. Mental and moral philosophy were given in senior year and a few colleges still clung to Paley's 'Evidences of Christianity.' The sciences were taught superficially, for the most part, and seemed to be regarded as of slight importance.

The reaction against this condition of affairs was forcibly expressed by Charles Francis Adams, 2d, in his noteworthy Phi Beta Kappa address at Cambridge in 1883. He said:

> How did Harvard College prepare me and my ninety-two classmates of the year 1856 for our work? The college fitted us for this active, bustling, hard-hitting, many-tongued world, caring little for authority and little for the past, but full of living thought and living issues . . . the poor old college prepared us to play our parts in this world by compel-

ling us, directly and indirectly, to devote the best part of our school lives to acquiring a confessedly superficial knowledge of two dead languages. . . .

Nor in my time did the mischief end here. On the contrary, it began here. As a slipshod method of training was accepted in those studies to which the greatest prominence was given, the same method was accepted in other studies. The whole standard was lowered. . . . Even now, I do not see how I could have got solid, exhaustive teaching in the classroom even if I had known enough to want it.

But the time had come for a better and saner type both of instruction and government. College officers began to see that the world was changing, and even while Mr. Adams was hurling his criticisms at the system under which he had been educated, the college, under the clear prescience of President Eliot, was preparing to carry out the very reforms which he was advocating.

The Elective System

The first and most important aim of the new movement was to enlarge the curriculum and allow the student some option in the selection of his studies. This, it was thought, would not only better fit the course to the needs of the individual student, but would develop in him an intelligent power of choice and a responsibility for results. It was conceded, after many years of blundering, that all students were not alike and that a diet of Latin, Greek, and mathematics, while it might agree with some, would induce in others intellectual dyspepsia. It was also discovered (how long it took to discover it!) that a boy — or a man — will do well the thing that he wants to do and will do ill the thing that he is compelled to do. To be sure, these truths had

been preached by educational prophets, but it took years to bring them to the consciousness of the average college administrator.

Harvard was the pioneer in the new movement. After experimenting with it in the upper classes for more than a half-century,[1] she announced in 1884 that she was committed to the principle of election and was prepared to offer electives to freshmen! And not only that, but electives amounting to more than half of their studies, the only required branches being rhetoric and English composition, German *or* French, and a few lectures in chemistry and physics. At the same time all the studies of the sophomore year, except a fragment of English composition and public speaking, were made elective.[2] Most of the New England colleges had by this time offered some electives in the senior and junior years. Yale, Amherst, and Bowdoin offered some in sophomore year. But the idea of electives for freshmen aroused a storm of protest from educators all over the country.

'Freshmen are only boys,' they said, 'and incapable of choosing what they shall study.'

'Keep a boy from exercising the power of choice and he will never be anything else than a boy,' replied the Harvard faculty.

'But there is danger that he will make mistakes,' said the critics.

'To permit choice is dangerous, but not to permit it is more dangerous; for it makes dependency habitual. We are training boys for self-direction. . . . In build-

[1] In 1825 some option was allowed at Harvard in modern languages; in 1846 electives were offered to seniors and juniors, and in 1867 to sophomores.

[2] President Eliot's *Report* for 1884–85.

ing up a moral manhood the very errors of choice are serviceable,'[1] replied Harvard.

Distinguished Harvard alumni took issue with President Eliot and the faculty. At the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, celebrated in the autumn of 1886, James Russell Lowell, the orator of the day, expressed the conservative attitude when he said in his address:

'Is it indeed so self-evident a proposition as it seems to many that "You may" is as wholesome a lesson for youth as "You must"? Is it so good a fore-schooling for Life, which will be a teacher of quite other mood, making us learn, rod in hand, precisely those lessons we should not have chosen?'

So the fight went on, but one by one the colleges came to recognize the principle of choice, and electives increased in number and scope. The table on page 45, prepared by Professor Palmer and printed in a later issue of the 'Andover Review,'[2] shows how the New England colleges had been experimenting with the electives between 1875 and 1885.

The table shows that, next to Harvard, Amherst was earliest in these experiments, introducing sophomore electives in the mid-seventies, in addition to the junior and senior electives which she had been offering for several years. Amherst's attitude toward the newer studies of the curriculum — science, literature, modern languages, history, and government — is shown in a letter in 1827 from the faculty to the governing board of the college — then a very young institution. This

[1] Professor George Herbert Palmer: 'The New Education,' in the *Andover Review*, November, 1885.

[2] December, 1886.

letter asked for the enlargement of the curriculum by the inclusion of new studies. 'Why such reluctance,' they asked, 'to admit modern improvement and mod-

College	1875–76			1885–86		
	Soph.	Jun.	Sen.	Soph.	Jun.	Sen.
Amherst	.04	.20	.08	.20	.75	.75
Bates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boston	0	0	0	.35	.66	.82
Bowdoin	0	0	0	.15	.25	.25
Brown	0	.04	.04	.14	.37	.55
Colby	0	0	0	0	.08	.16
Dartmouth	0	0	0	0	.41	.36
Harvard	.50	.78	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Middlebury	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinity	0	0	0	0	.25	.25
Tufts	0	.17	.17	0	.28	.43
Vermont	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wesleyan	0	.47	.47	.16	.47	.64
Williams	0	0	0	0	0	.37
Yale	0	0	0	.13	.53	.80

ern literature? Why so little attention to the natural, civil, and political history of our country, and to the genius of our government? . . . Why should the student be compelled to spend nearly four years out of six in the study of the dead languages, from which he expects to derive no material advantage and for which he will, in fact, have very little use after his senior examination?'

The appeal had small effect at that time, but it is interesting to note that Amherst, which has so often been quoted as a type of the ultra-classical college,

should at so early a date have voiced through its faculty the importance of a more liberal course and should have been among the first to introduce the sciences and modern languages.

The table also shows that in the mid-seventies Wesleyan, though allowing no choice to sophomores, was giving to seniors and juniors a larger proportion of electives than any other New England college except Harvard.

Notwithstanding these earlier experiments, it was not until the first half of the eighties that electives came to be regarded by the more conservative New England colleges as having a permanent place in the curriculum. The only question thereafter was how large a proportion of the studies should be made elective and how far down in the course they should extend. In 1881 Amherst was offering to seniors electives amounting to about two thirds of the study schedule, about the same proportion to juniors, and a little more than one sixth to sophomores. A scientific course was offered which was the same as the classical except that advanced work in the sciences and mathematics took the place of Greek. Latin was retained.

Yale reformed her curriculum in 1884. Professor Ladd, in a paper published soon after the change had been made, gives the reasons for it as, (1) the need of modern languages, (2) the crowding of studies in senior year, (3) the heterogeneous character of the older course, and (4) the need of making allowance for the tastes, the contemplated pursuits, and the aptitudes of the individual student. The changes in the Yale curriculum made four fifths of the senior studies elective and about half of the junior studies — prac-

tically the same proportion for the last two years, taken together, that had been offered by Amherst. Yale, however, offered no choice below junior year, except between French and German.[1] For a scientific course Yale had the Sheffield Scientific School with, for the most part, a different faculty and with somewhat more freedom of choice.

Dartmouth first showed the influence of the new movement by offering a 'Latin-Scientific course,' which omitted Greek and substituted an increased amount of work in mathematics, modern languages, and science. This course led to the degree of 'Bachelor of Literature.' It was opened in the fall of 1880 with four students, and though the number gradually increased, it was never really successful and in 1901 was merged with the scientific course, which had been thrust upon the college years before by its absorption of the Chandler Scientific School.

Dartmouth, during the first few years of the decade, offered to seniors two or three 'optional' studies, which were distinct from electives in that, while they might be pursued under the direction of an instructor, they were not marked or rated as other courses were. Students taking them were examined at the end of the term and some credit was allowed for the work done, but in 1880 these courses were not announced in the catalogue, and the faculty were not united in wishing to continue them.[2]

The introduction of real electives at Dartmouth came in 1882, with a general reformation of the course of study. The electives comprised about two thirds of

[1] Ladd: *Essays on Higher Education.*
[2] J. K. Lord: *History of Dartmouth College, 1815–1909.*

the studies of senior year and one third of junior year — not so large an allowance as had been offered by Amherst, and not so large as that which Yale offered two years later. Greek, Latin, and mathematics were still required continuously in the course leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, until the end of sophomore year. No electives were allowed to sophomores until eleven years later (1893).[1]

Williams made no general revision of its curriculum but introduced electives gradually, offering in '84, to seniors, a group from which two subjects might be chosen, while six other subjects, partly in lecture form, were still required. In '86 two electives were offered to juniors, and in '88 one was offered to sophomores.[2]

The revision of the curriculum at Brown occurred in '85. A few electives had been offered to seniors and juniors before that time, but the new course of study made about one half of the senior studies elective, about one third of the junior studies, and one fourth of the sophomore studies.[3]

The Recitation

'The ignoble game of matching wits,' which Professor Palmer described as characteristic of the older method of college recitation, was passing. President Eliot, in his annual report for the year ending in June, 1880, explained the newer methods that were then being introduced at Harvard. He said that the recitation, 'considered as an opportunity of examining the student to see whether he had learned the lesson of the

[1] J. K. Lord: *History of Dartmouth College, 1815–1909.*
[2] *Catalogues of Williams College,* 1884–88.
[3] W. C. Bronson: *History of Brown University.*

day,' had almost disappeared. Instead of that, the teacher was accustomed to give 'conversational instruction,' asking questions to correct misapprehensions and to bring out the main points of the subject, clear of details — explaining the author in hand, contravening, reënforcing, or illustrating his statements. For the student, it was 'an opportunity to ask questions, to receive either in a critical or docile spirit the explanation and opinions of the instructor, to review the lesson, or reëxamine the subject of the day; and to test occasionally his own power of translating, of stating a proposition, a case, an argument, or a demonstration, of narrating a series of events, or of describing a plant, an animal, . . . a building, a person, or an institution.'

'In many recitations,' he continued, 'the teacher does the greater part of the work. Thus, there are recitations in Latin and Greek at which the instructors, and not the students, do all the translating; recitations in history at which the comments and illustrations of the instructor fill almost all the hour . . . ; and recitations in the modern languages at which more than half of the time is devoted by the instructor to explaining, in the language which the class is studying, the difficulties which the students have met with in the reading prescribed for the day.'

'If,' he adds, 'there is in the recitation as it now exists, something of the lecture, on the other hand in the lecture there is ordinarily a large admixture of the Socratic method. The lecturer does not read or speak continuously himself, but frequently interrupts his exposition to address a question to an individual or to the class, or to invite the class to ask questions and suggest difficulties.'

Doubtless this type of recitation described by President Eliot in 1880 was the ideal toward which Harvard was working, but it was not achieved in a day, and in some of the classrooms it developed much more slowly than in others. There was on the Harvard faculty at that time an active group of modernists who were eager to follow the vision of their farseeing president, but there were also conservatives who still clung to the older methods.

Other colleges were less progressive than Harvard in their classroom methods. Yet there was a ferment working in the minds of college teachers and administrators in those early years of the eighties, which showed itself in breaking away from formalism and realizing that 'the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life.'

The Seminar

The eighties probably marked the highest point in the influence of the German university upon methods of teaching in the colleges of America.[1] Ambitious students looked forward to pursuing post-graduate studies at Göttingen, or Breslau, or Berlin, or Heidelberg, or one of a half-dozen or so other approved German institutions, and of those who went many came back to teach, bringing German methods with them. It is to Germany that we owe the seminar, and to the eighties that we owe its introduction into the college work of this country. It came gradually and sometimes in a modified form but there were examples of it that

[1] Measured by the number of American students enrolled in the German universities it rose to its height in the ten years between 1887 and 1897. President Charles F. Thwing.

followed very closely the German model. The earliest use of it in undergraduate work was probably in Professor Neill's classes at Amherst. At the beginning of the decade this progressive teacher was giving to his seniors and juniors in English literature a fully developed seminar. It was his habit each term to assign to every student a special subject, following so far as possible individual preferences or aptitudes. It might be a character from one of Shakespeare's plays or it might be an author or a poem or a novel or any literary problem that fell within the range of the term's work, but taken together, these topics covered pretty closely the period that the class was studying. Each student was expected to master his subject and to present a thesis upon it. Recitations were two hours in length. The first hour was devoted to the general lesson of the day and to the presentation of the thesis; — the second hour — after five minutes' recess — to criticisms upon the thesis by the class, followed by an informal discussion and by a rebuttal from the writer. This method combined the advantages of literary and historical study with practice in English composition, criticism, and debate. More than all else, it taught the student to think and to form judgments.

Attendance

Harvard had been experimenting since 1876 with rules respecting attendance at recitations. Seniors, and afterwards juniors, who stood above a certain average in their scholarship, were allowed some freedom, but the two lower classes were subjected to a rather elaborate system of penalties. In 1880 this subject was thoroughly discussed by the Harvard

faculty, and a new attitude was implied in the statement that 'habitual absence or irregularity of attendance *unless accompanied by good scholarship* should be treated in such a way as the circumstances might warrant.' The statement was rather vague, but President Eliot clarified it in his report for that year by referring to 'the gradual abolition of all disciplinary methods of enforcing the attendance of the students at lectures and recitations,' and continued: 'the student now goes to the lecture-room because he is interested in the work done there, or because it is easier to accomplish the prescribed work of the course with the daily help of the instructor than in any other way, or because he finds attendance indispensable if he would pass the stated examinations.' It was another step toward making the student work out his own salvation, and another indication of the influence of the German universities.

The 'New System' at Amherst

In the same year (1880) that Harvard placed these responsibilities upon her students, Amherst adopted what was known as the 'New System,' or, outside the college, as 'the Amherst System.' This was simply another form of the 'new education,' but it went farther than elective studies or attendance at recitations. It made the student — in theory at least — responsible for his personal conduct.

President Seelye, who was then head of the college, held advanced views regarding self-determination and the maturing influence of responsibility. He wished to make the student body responsible for its own behavior, and instead of a college that should function

in loco parentis, he would have a college that should be to an extent democratic. His feeling is expressed in his annual report for 1881, after the 'new system' had been in operation a year. He says:

The year has been marked by some significant changes. At its beginning I proposed to the faculty a new scheme of college administration to obviate some difficulties long apparent in the relations of faculty and students. These difficulties have been largely due, I judge, to the fact that the system of college administration in our country remains essentially the same as it was a hundred and fifty years ago, while during this time the age of our students has been slowly but steadily advancing until it averages now some three or perhaps four years more than it did a century and a half since. . . . [The system] was probably very well suited to a condition and time when, as was true in some of our prominent colleges, a student could graduate, having completed the entire course, at thirteen, and when a salutary discipline was found in corporal punishment; but it is a very untoward system to maintain over a body of young men old enough to possess the rights and incur the obligations of self-government. Scores of our students are legal voters in our civil elections. . . . Having had for some time a growing conviction that this system of college management needed now some radical modifications, it seemed best to make a trial of these. . . . Rules are of course indispensable, but it makes a wide difference whether these rules come as an enactment which the authority of the faculty is to maintain, or whether they shall be accepted by the student in an agreement which his own free choice is interested to fulfil.

The 'new system' was based upon the theory that when entering college the student made a contract to abide by certain laws and principles of conduct and that if he violated those laws he removed himself from the college by his own act. The faculty did not punish; it simply called attention to the fact that the student had

severed his connection with the college. Practically, the undergraduate saw little difference in the working-out of this programme. If he 'broke his contract' he was obliged to leave college. It was regarded by the average student as a juggling of terms and caused some hilarity. The college year book, the 'Olio,' in '82 represented the college as removing from the unhappy breaker of rules, while he endeavored vainly to pursue and catch it. It was said that the 'new system' admitted of various interpretations, and it is certain that it aroused a storm of comment. Amherst was referred to as a dangerously radical college — almost as dangerous as Harvard. Educational reviews spoke of the 'Amherst system' as revolutionary, and theoretically at least it was so; practically it represented simply a different attitude of mind, that found expression in the scheme of self-government to which we shall refer later.

A feature of the 'new system' that aroused much opposition was that it offered a fixed allowance of one tenth of the recitations of each department as a margin to cover unavoidable absences, and accepted no excuses. If the student by reason of sickness or other necessity overstepped his margin of 'cuts,' it was his misfortune. The college regretted it, but a certain amount of time had been lost and the student could not continue with the class, unless, as sometimes happened, he could by extra effort retrieve the loss.

It differed from the Harvard plan in that if the student had attended nine tenths of his recitations and had done satisfactory work, he was not, except in a few cases, subjected to a term examination, while at Harvard a student might absent himself as often as

he pleased — provided that he did satisfactory work when he was present — but was obliged to take the term examination whether his attendance were regular or otherwise and whether his daily record in scholarship were good or bad. In other words, the test of work at Harvard was the term examination, while at Amherst it was the daily recitation supplemented by a series of reviews which were less formal than an examination and which were held every two or three weeks or at the completion of a convenient unit of study.

Another and a more significant difference was that the allowance of absences at Amherst was fixed at a point beyond which it was believed a student could not safely go, and *no excuses were granted* — while at Harvard no limit was fixed, and students habitually irregular were treated 'in such a way as the circumstances might warrant.'

The definite allowance of one tenth at Amherst troubled the conservatives more than the unlimited system that Harvard had adopted. It was objected that the student who was able to attend all his recitations would inevitably take his allowance of cuts and thus lose one tenth of the benefit of his college studies. The Amherst faculty replied that the prophesied result was not proved and that even if it should come to pass, the possible loss would be offset by the moral gain resulting from a consciousness that loss of time is a real loss — the student's own — and that no excuse, whether real or fictitious, can make it otherwise. Later in the decade other colleges adopted the plan of an allowance of a certain number or proportion of absences. Yale allowed freshmen and sophomores six absences per term, and juniors and seniors eight

absences, but excuses were still granted on a physician's certificate.

Harvard brought on another storm of protest from the conservatives when in 1886 she made chapel attendance voluntary. In this the faculty not only restated their position that college students should be treated like men rather than children, but they expressed also the conviction that religion by compulsion was likely to do more harm than good. The effect of optional attendance upon church and chapel services is further discussed in the chapter on 'Religion in the Eighties.'

Student Self-Government

Another noteworthy feature of the 'new system' at Amherst was the organization in '81 of a 'College Senate,' which was to consist of four seniors, three juniors, two sophomores, and one freshman, chosen by their respective classes, and to which 'questions of college order and decorum' were to be referred. The president of the college was to preside over this body and was to retain the power of veto.

In theory this was excellent, but the students were not quite ready for it, and some of the classes refused to elect their representatives. They said that it would make them spies upon their classmates. They acknowledged their immaturity but were unwilling to accept the responsibilities that would mature them. It required time to make the college students of that day realize that they were actually men.

Yet the 'senate' was formed, and functioned after a fashion. It soon had an opportunity to test its powers. A sophomore was caught red-handed hazing

a freshman. His contract had been broken and he had automatically removed himself from the college. His classmates made a strong plea in his defense. He was no more guilty, they said, than others; the only difference was that he was caught. Then, too, there were extenuating circumstances. They asked that the case should be reviewed. President Seelye accepted the situation and referred the question to the senate. The senate recommended that the culprit be reinstated on probation — and he was reinstated. This was a chance for the critics. 'It was to be expected,' they said. 'No student misdemeanor could be tried impartially by students themselves.' But the accused sophomore continued his course, graduated creditably, and became a useful and influential citizen. This is, we believe, the first case of student self-government on record in any American college.

In '83 Bowdoin introduced a similar system, calling it the 'College Jury.' The jury consisted of representatives of each class and of each fraternity, presided over by its own foreman. The president of the college attended the meetings, brought matters to its attention and gave 'advice when asked' — and supposably sometimes without waiting to be asked. He also retained his rights regarding the administration of discipline, without reference to the jury — so that here, as at Amherst, the body was simply advisory. At both Amherst and Bowdoin these student bodies had a rather precarious existence, were abandoned for a time, and some years later were reorganized in a somewhat modified form. The breaking-down of the college senate, or jury, in its original form was probably due to the fact that the veto or advisory power of the college

president was exercised too freely, and the members felt that with a possibility of being overruled they had no real excuse for functioning. If they had been allowed independence within certain limits they would probably have continued without break.

Harvard had during the same period an experimental 'Committee of Conference' consisting of representatives from students and faculty, but it did not function satisfactorily, and was modified in '85. Under the new arrangement it consisted of five members of the faculty appointed by the president, and sixteen students (five seniors, four juniors, three sophomores, two freshmen elected by the respective classes, and two at large elected by the whole committee). It reported its findings to the faculty and undoubtedly had some moral effect, though it, too, was only advisory.

Williams had a similar committee later in the decade, but it had no great influence. The greatest help which the college administration had was from the Greek-letter fraternities. This subject is discussed in another chapter, but it may be said here that in the New England colleges, except at Harvard and Yale, the fraternities exercised a greater influence than any formally elected body in raising the student morale.

Physical Education

The eighties saw a marked development in physical education in the American college. More than twenty years earlier the subject of gymnastic training for college students had been agitated, and in 1860 were built the first indoor gymnasiums maintained by colleges and under faculty supervision — the Barrett Gymnasium at Amherst, and a little later gymnasiums

at Harvard and at Yale.[1] Amherst established during the same year (1860) the first chair of 'hygiene and physical education,' stipulating that the holder of it should have a thorough medical training and should also act as college physician. In 1861 Dr. Edward Hitchcock, a son of President Hitchcock, was called to the newly established professorship — which he held until his death over forty years later. Dr. Hitchcock abandoned the use of the five-pound and ten-pound dumb-bells with which athletes were accustomed to exhaust themselves and substituted light wooden dumb-bells and wands.[2] His gymnastic programme — which continued during the eighties — consisted of a half-hour's drill for each class, four times a week, interspersed with marching exercises — the whole being done in unison and to music. This drill was required; physical disability was the only valid excuse. Prize drills were given by the four classes in the spring, in College Hall, and were not only an attractive spectacle but were one of the social features of the year — the galleries being filled with chaperoned visitors from Smith and Mount Holyoke, with faculty and townspeople, and sometimes with guests from afar.

Dr. Hitchcock was the father of college physical education in America. He instituted the first system of physical tests and measurements, and his statistics

[1] As early as 1826–28 open-air gymnasiums of the German type had been fitted out at Harvard, Yale, Amherst, Williams, Brown, and Bowdoin and a little later a frame building containing some gymnastic apparatus was built and maintained by students at Princeton, but the colleges did not consider the question of physical education seriously until about 1860.

[2] F. E. Leonard: *Pioneers of Modern Physical Training.*

showed such results as to lead to a general awakening on this subject among the colleges.[1]

Next to Dr. Hitchcock the most important of the pioneers of physical training in the American colleges was Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent,[2] who began his work at Bowdoin in 1869, at the age of twenty — attending college while directing the gymnasium. In 1875 he became director of the Yale gymnasium, continuing his studies at the Yale Medical School.

In the eighties a new wave of interest in physical education swept the colleges. This was due largely to the development of intercollegiate athletics, as traced in another chapter. The year 1880 saw the completion of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard, the largest and most perfectly equipped gymnasium that had been built by any American college. Dr. Sargent was called to be its director. His system differed from Dr. Hitchcock's in that it was more largely individual and remedial. By means of elaborate apparatus designed by himself he sought to strengthen the weaker muscles and bring about a harmonious development of the entire body. This was the system outlined by William Blaikie in a book — one of the 'best sellers' of its day, 'How to Get Strong and How to Stay So.' Gymnastic practice at Harvard was not compulsory as at Amherst.

In addition to the building of the Hemenway Gymnasium and the improvement in methods that it implied, the decade of the eighties saw the building of the Pratt Gymnasium at Amherst in 1884 and the Lasell Gymnasium at Williams in 1886. It saw the beginning

[1] F. E. Leonard: *Pioneers of Modern Physical Training.*
[2] *Ibid.*

in 1889 of the new gymnasium at Yale, completed at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars in 1892, and the planning of the Lyman Gymnasium at Brown, completed at a cost of fifty thousand dollars in 1891.

Another important event of the decade was the organization in 1885 of the Society for the Advancement of Physical Education, which had a wide influence and led to more systematic physical work not only in the colleges but in the public schools as well. It was to be expected that the two men who had done most to develop physical training should be at the head of this movement and should appear officially on its first board of control. Dr. Hitchcock was made the first president of the society and Dr. Sargent one of its vice-presidents.

Laboratories and Equipment

It was inevitable that the awakening of interest in the sciences should lead to improved laboratory practice and equipment. At the beginning of the decade there was in none of the New England colleges — with the possible exception of Harvard — a laboratory worthy of the name. Students in chemistry dabbled a little with test-tubes and reagents, inhaled poisonous gases, and messed unskillfully in various compounds. There were competent instructors, but they were handicapped by lack of means. In most of the colleges the apparatus for the teaching of physics was held sacred and not to be touched by the profane hands of students. 'Experiments,' which were in no sense experimental, were performed in sight of the class by the instructor or lecturer. The class were generally informed in advance what they might expect as the

result of the 'experiment.' Sometimes these expectations were realized; sometimes they were not. Much of the apparatus could not be relied upon. 'Gentlemen,' remarked a certain professor of physics as he was about to operate Atwood's Machine, 'you will perceive this machine is turned by a crank.' But if science was to receive the attention that it demanded under the new courses of study, adequate equipment must be provided. So the first modern laboratories were built and equipped. Perhaps the undergraduate of to-day, accustomed to laboratory conveniences and to delicate and complex apparatus, will smile at the word 'modern' in this connection, but, compared to the older equipment — or lack of it — the new laboratories were as light after darkness. They made it possible at least for students to investigate and test for themselves — and that is what marks the difference between modern and ancient methods of science-teaching.

In '84 Harvard finished the building of the Jefferson Physical Laboratory; in '88 an important section was added to the Peabody Museum; and in '88–'89 the Oxford Street façade of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy was built.[1]

Yale in '82 built the Sloane Physical Laboratory and Observatory Buildings; in '87 the Kent Chemical Laboratory, and in '88 the new library (which is in fact a laboratory for literary research).[2]

Amherst in '82 rebuilt Walker Hall, and refitted it with better equipment; extended the Morgan Library; toward the end of the decade made plans for the Fayerweather Physical and Chemical Laboratories,

[1] President Eliot's *Reports*.
[2] Camp and Welch: *Yale; her Campus, Classrooms and Athletics*.

the building of which was completed in '93, and for the addition of a biological laboratory to Appleton cabinet, completed in '91.[1]

Brown, late in the eighties, began the erection of her new physical laboratory, Wilson Hall,[2] — while Bowdoin, somewhat delayed in her plans, built in the early part of the next decade the Searles Scientific Laboratory, occupying it in '94.[3] Dartmouth built her new library in 1884–85.[4]

Development of Colleges for Women

While it is not, as we have already said, the purpose of this book to treat of the colleges exclusively for women, there were during the eighties some significant developments that should be mentioned as a part of the 'new education.'

For a half-century there had been in New England, and to a lesser extent in the West and South, 'female academies' and 'female seminaries,' of high-school grade, or below. There had also been co-educational academies and in 1837 — the same year in which Mary Lyon opened the 'Mount Holyoke Female Seminary,' at South Hadley, Massachusetts — 'Oberlin Institute' in Ohio received into its collegiate department four young women, three of whom graduated in 1841 — the first women to receive a degree in arts in the United States[5] and the first example in this country, so far as we have been able to learn, of college co-education. Following this beginning, the State

[1] W. S. Tyler: *History of Amherst College.*
[2] W. C. Bronson: *History of Brown University, 1764-1914.*
[3] N. Cleveland: *History of Bowdoin College.*
[4] J. K. Lord: *History of Dartmouth College, 1815–1909.*
[5] Thwing, Charles F.: *A History of Higher Education in America.*

universities of the Middle West, as they came into being, accepted women on equal terms with men.

Some of the smaller New England colleges — Wesleyan, Bates, Colby, and later Boston University — had also accepted women as students, but the method by which the older parts of the country approached the question of the education of women was not generally through co-education.[1] It was, rather, through the establishment of separate colleges, and the thought took form in Vassar, which opened in 1865, and in Wellesley and Smith ten years later. Mount Holyoke, although still known as a 'seminary,' had a small collegiate department.

At the threshold of the eighties — in September, 1879, to be exact — a third method for the higher education of women was developed in America. It stood midway between the woman's college and the co-educational college, and is known as the affiliated or coördinated college. The first example of it in this country was the 'Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women,' at Cambridge, which later became Radcliffe College. The instruction was given by Harvard professors, and the college, while distinct, was closely coördinated with Harvard. The idea was brought from England, where ten years earlier, Girton College had been established for women, in affiliation with Cambridge University. Other colleges of the same type in England were Newnham College at Cambridge, Somerville Hall, Lady Margaret Hall, and St. Hugh's Hall at Oxford.

Radcliffe College succeeded even beyond the expectations of its founders. Ten years later (in 1889)

[1] *Ibid.*

Barnard College was established, affiliating with Columbia, and about the same time the Women's College of Brown University was planned — and in 1891 was opened.

Another college exclusively for women took form during the eighties — in 1886 — at Bryn Mawr, but this takes us away from New England and from our purpose, which was to show that during this decade the higher education of women more than kept pace with that of men. The following table will show how the women's colleges of New England increased in their student enrollment from 1880 to 1890.

College	1880	1890	Gain	Per cent of Gain
Wellesley	372	650	278	75%
Smith	214	540	326	152%
Mt. Holyoke*	226	273	47	20%

Harvard, which made the largest gain of any of the more important colleges for men, showed during the same period a gain of only forty-four per cent. Boston University, a co-educational institution, increased from 107 to 292, a percentage of 173, the gain being due in a large measure to the increase in the enrollment of women.

The New Education had arrived. It was young and full of immaturities, but it had come to stay, and it

* These figures include also the preparatory or secondary department, which was larger than the college.

gave promise of better things. Formalism in education had been dethroned, ancient educational idols had been broken, there was a new impulse toward the sort of study that leads to something — that amounts to more than simply mental discipline. The word 'motivation,' which has since become an educational shibboleth, was not used much in the eighties, but the thing for which it stands was becoming acutely prominent. Latin and Greek were demoted from the unique position that they had held for generations in the educational hierarchy and were made to share their honors with the newer studies. Students began to feel that they were dealing with actualities. Above all, the spirit of freedom and self-determination, which distinguishes our modern life from the life of our grandfathers, was abroad, penetrating the cloistered walls of the colleges, and awakening the occupants to modern life and living thought.

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATIVE TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

HARVARD, YALE, AND BROWN

PRESIDENT CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

THE striking fact in regard to President Eliot is that he belonged equally to four decades — indeed, we might say to five. His career as president of Harvard covered exactly forty years, 1869–1909; but after his retirement so conspicuous became his services as a writer and speaker that the public refused to think of him as retired. The epithet 'Emeritus' rarely was attached to his name; the reporters, as a rule, refused to refer to him as 'former president Eliot.' Yet how different was the public's conception of President Eliot from what it was forty years before! In these later years we thought of him as a student of public affairs, as a distinguished publicist, as 'America's Foremost Citizen.' Near the surface of our minds lay the fact that he influenced the literary taste of thousands by means of his 'Five-Foot Shelf of Books.' In connection with the celebration of his ninetieth birthday, March 20, 1924, there was published a volume of his papers under the title 'A Late Harvest'[1] in which were gathered a score or more of typical utterances made between the eightieth and ninetieth years of this extraordinary man. We find such titles as these: 'The Women that will Survive,' 'The Road to Industrial Peace,' 'Public Opinion about Strikes,' 'The Crying Need of a New Christianity,' 'What is an American?', 'Zionism,' 'Pro-

[1] *A Late Harvest*, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1924.

hibition.' The book carries no suggestion of Harvard or of the professional educator. Now that his great career is ended, it is pertinent to recall how different were his status and reputation in the earlier decades.

As for the eighties, they stand out as the storm-and-stress period of his life, when throughout the scholastic world, and to a considerable extent in the world of affairs, President Eliot was known and, not infrequently, pilloried as an educational reformer of the most radical type.

In seeking to reconstruct the man and his time, we turn naturally to his annual reports to the Harvard corporation. In nearly every report from 1879 to 1884 we find President Eliot dealing trenchantly with the problem of electives. In the latter year, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, the new system was extended to the freshman curriculum and he could say, 'There are now no required studies in the College except rhetoric for one year, English composition, and a few lectures in chemistry and physics.' So far as Harvard was concerned the long debate was over, the Eliot idea had prevailed.

But the debate was by no means confined to Harvard circles. Each of the Eliot reports was a bombshell exploded in the educational camp. To some he was the Destroying Angel of American Culture; to others he was the prophet of a new and better order. To those who understood, he was aiming at nothing less than the freeing of American college education from the shackles of English tradition. They considered that he stood for a distinctly American type, a college where culture is both broad and deep, and where, above all, it is democratic. 'The American university,' he affirmed, 'will

Above: PROF. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, HARVARD; PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT, HARVARD, IN THE EIGHTIES

Below: PROF. WILLIAM G. SUMNER ('BILLY SUMNER'), YALE; PRESIDENT NOAH PORTER, YALE

not be a copy of foreign institutions, but the slow and natural outgrowth of American social and political habit.' As the debate proceeded it was recognized that Harvard's president more than any other man was the champion and interpreter of what, in Chapter III, we have called 'The New Education.'

President Eliot was a regular attendant upon the meetings of the Association of New England Colleges. It was his custom to arrive early and leave late, and he lost no opportunity to advocate his theory of a broadened curriculum suited to the conditions of the modern world. This association became the arena in which he fought the same battle in behalf of the colleges of the country at large. He was opposed by President Porter of Yale, President Bartlett of Dartmouth, and others of a conservative temper. We gather that the meetings of the New England college presidents in those days were lively affairs.

It does not pertain to this sketch to trace the progress of the reform; but it may be said that President Eliot's twenty-fifth anniversary, in 1894, marked the ending of the period of storm and stress. By that time the soundness and practicability of his views, at least as to their main intent, were established throughout the educational world. Thereafter his career, comparatively speaking, was serene and bright. The comments made at the time of his quarter-centennial as president attest the significance of the change that had come over the American college. President Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve University (Harvard '76), whose books have made him a leading authority on higher education, wrote in 'The Forum': 'And what is the purpose of the system for which he [President Eliot]

has fought early, late, hard and triumphantly? Is it not to promote concentration and thoroughness for the great object of living; to make every man's intellectual habit a custom-made and not a ready-made garment; to promote individuality? Is its ideal anything lower than to equip each man to make the largest contribution to the betterment of the race?'[1]

The Eliot reports relate not only to Harvard events and interests but discuss with intellectual acumen and an extraordinary degree of common sense matters pertaining to the development of higher education throughout the country. As throwing light upon the problem of compulsory chapel, the report of 1881 deals with a questionnaire sent to parents of students, asking if they held daily prayers for the family in their households. Seven hundred and forty-one replies were received, of whom two hundred and eleven answered 'Yes' and five hundred and thirty 'No.' The report for 1882 announces a change in policy regarding students entering college, by which, if they had sufficient credits, they might enter the sophomore rather than the freshman class, thus saving an entire year. The same report opens up the question of athletics, a committee of the faculty having been appointed to report upon the regulation of match games of ball. In 1883 he dealt with coöperative buying on the part of students as a means of reducing the cost of education. He announces the organization of a coöperative society with an initial membership of six hundred.

The report of 1885 is noteworthy for its statement of the abolition of compulsory chapel and church and the institution of the voluntary system. The same re-

[1] *The Forum*, May, 1894.

port announces three measures calculated to increase the amount of personal supervision exercised over the less diligent or less thoughtful students. Thirteen New England colleges, it is stated, have united in the creation of a commission on requirements for admission (the beginning evidently of the Entrance Examination Board which now covers the entire country and in 1925 conducted some twenty thousand examinations). In 1887 President Eliot reported painstakingly upon college expenses.

Together with these matters relating to the developing life of the college, we find evidence of President Eliot's activity in behalf of the other departments of the university — the Medical School, the Law School, the Divinity School, the Lawrence Scientific School receiving much attention. A striking feature of the annual reports is the felicitous characterization of prominent professors who had died or had withdrawn from active service. In a few choice but adequate phrases he would describe the distinctive services and personalities of the scholars and teachers who, working quietly at their tasks during many years, had helped to make Harvard great. Dr. Eliot's genius for such characterization became known at an early date, especially in connection with the conferring of honorary degrees at commencement and the writing of inscriptions for public monuments and memorials.

As one reads these official documents he becomes aware that in Dr. Eliot a new type of university president had emerged. To him the administration of a university was a business of vast proportions. He interpreted his position as primarily an executive one. It was incumbent upon him to understand and then

to direct the policy of every department of study. Hitherto the president of Harvard had had little to do with the post-graduate schools. Dr. Eliot not only attended the meetings of the faculties of law and medicine, but undertook to preside and to direct their affairs. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a member of the medical faculty in the early years of Dr. Eliot's régime, tells of a stormy meeting when a certain doctor arose and said, 'How is it, I should like to ask, that this faculty has gone for eighty years managing its own affairs and doing it well — and now within three or four months it is proposed to change all our modes of carrying on the school?' 'I can answer Dr.——'s question very easily,' replied Eliot. 'There is a new president.'

One of the significant things about President Eliot's interpretation of his office is that it led him to make a thorough study of the entire system of education, public and private, from the kindergarten to the post-graduate school. Whatever he proposed for Harvard he wished to have properly related to the scheme of education as a whole. As President Thwing points out, 'His purpose was to put the university in the closest possible touch with life.' In his choice of professors and in the handling of the highly complicated and often vexatious personal relations with his faculty he showed that his judgment of men was as keen as his knowledge of practical affairs. One is impressed by the testimonials from Harvard professors as to Eliot's frankness and fairness in all his dealings with his associates. Charles Eliot Norton, in writing to Charles Francis Adams of a certain issue which was to come before the Harvard Overseers and which might be supposed to

injure the feelings of President Eliot, said: 'It is possible to be entirely frank with Eliot because of his own frankness and simplicity of nature; and I would rather have him hear what is said at the meeting and give him the opportunity to make whatever remarks he might choose upon it, than have him receive what might be an imperfect report of what was said.' [1] Barrett Wendell, a fiery spirit who did not lack occasions for differing from the president, who particularly objected to what he called 'the honest bigotry of his Yankee Unitarianism,' and who in his Phi Beta Kappa poem, delivered at commencement in 1909, the year in which President Eliot retired, in a spirit of drollery and daring said some rather caustic things of his superior, in the same poem paid tribute to his nobility of spirit in dealing with men like himself:

> He never showed resentment; rather he
> Remained incarnate magnanimity.[2]

The earlier part of President Eliot's career afforded abundant opportunity for his fairness and magnanimity to come into play. At the celebration of his seventieth birthday, in an address in which he reviewed his experiences, he said, 'In the first twenty years of my service here I was generally conscious of speaking to men who, to say the least, did not agree with me.' On the same occasion an address was made to him in which the speaker remarked, 'Your outward reserve has concealed a heart more tender than you have troubled yourself to reveal.' [3] When he was elected to the presidency in 1869 and the surprised

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, p. 373.
[2] Howe: *Barrett Wendell and His Letters*, p. 201.
[3] *Outlook*, August 6, 1904, article by Mark Sullivan.

public began to offer objections, he revealed that capacity so rare in men, 'a kind of intellectual detachment from personal feeling and prejudice,' by writing to a personal friend: 'As far as I have heard the objections to me I quite agree with them.'

There are sundry stories illustrative of Eliot's ability to eliminate the personal equation when controversies arose. To a certain professor who had sought to block a pet project, President Eliot remarked at the close of an interview: 'I suppose you understand fully that your opposition to my policies will not in the slightest degree affect your promotion here.' [1] Once when he was congratulated upon his firmness in conducting painful negotiations with a certain professor, he replied simply: 'I did what was best for the university.'

Both in ability and in method, President Eliot proved himself a new type of college administrator. 'The best executive head in New England,' Professor Norton said of him in writing to Carlyle in 1876. In speaking of Eliot as the first example of a type of president which is now domesticated in the educational world, President Thwing remarks: 'It is well that this example should be so magnificent.' President Thwing considered that Eliot's will was his dominant feature. 'To his task he brought and brings a vigorous and impressive personality, distinguished alike for moral and intellectual parts. Yet the intellect side is more conspicuous and dominant. But the will of this personality is yet more conspicuous than the intellect.' [2] It has been remarked that President Eliot belonged to the type of men possessing qualities which would in-

[1] *Outlook*, August 6, 1904, article by Mark Sullivan.
[2] *The Forum*, May, 1894.

sure success in almost any undertaking. He would have accomplished equally great things as a professor of chemistry, or a captain of industry. As a matter of fact, just before he was chosen president of Harvard, as the result of the keen observation of his work as a teacher of mathematics in the Scientific School by two business men, he was offered the management of a large cotton mill in Lowell, at a salary of five thousand dollars per year, with a house. It is known that twice he refused the London embassy. John Jay Chapman, Class of 1884, pays this tribute to Eliot's career: 'Before his day no one used to ask who was the president of Harvard University. At the close of his day the president of Harvard was a national figure, and the presidents of all other colleges in the country were persons to be reckoned with.' [1]

President Eliot was a great executive because he was a man of noble and well-balanced powers. Despite a certain coldness of exterior, throughout his long career he was noted for his *kindness*. In using the term we have its root value in mind. All men, especially all young men, to him were kin, his very own, his brothers in the flesh. Many stories are told which illustrate the gentler side of his nature. Once he took into his home a student who was ill with some contagious disease. On a certain occasion he chased all over Cambridge to find a second-hand textbook for a freshman who was too poor to buy a new copy. He loved to pay attention to the small needs of obscure students. Until 1878, he followed the practice of calling on every member of the student body.

Dr. George A. Gordon, who in his autobiography

[1] *Memories and Milestones*, p. 166.

pays loving tribute to President Eliot as 'the strongest and most influential friend I have ever had,' describes how cordially he was welcomed when he applied for admission to Harvard as a special student in 1878.

> He received me with the utmost kindness, spoke words of encouragement and hope, sent me away, with little waste of time to him or to me, with an exalted mind and a purpose more determined than ever. The mood of the President toward me never changed, except from one degree of kindness to a greater, and it was the astonishment of my days then, and still is, that a man with so great a multitude of cares resting upon him could spare a moment even to think of a poor academic waif such as I surely was. Among all the glories of President Eliot's administration of Harvard College none is brighter than his sympathy with aspiring and struggling youth; this vast merit of his spirit invaded the teaching staff under him and made Harvard College then the most democratic society that I have ever known and the most cordially human atmosphere that I have ever breathed.[1]

John Jay Chapman thinks that Eliot was not naturally socially inclined; he characterizes him as 'the spiritual father of the glacial era,' when no one at Harvard loved any one else. But he thinks that Eliot thawed out under the influence of a social revival during the eighties which humanized to a certain extent the relations between students and teachers.[2]

President Eliot throughout his career was essentially a religious man, a man of deep reverence and faith. Intimate friends refer to his habits of worship both in church and home. Some years ago he was asked to preside over a banquet at a Boston club given in

[1] *My Education and Religion*, pp. 149, 292, 297.
[2] *Memories and Milestones*, p. 169.

honor of the Chinese minister, Mr. Chang Yin Tang, who happened to be a guest in President Eliot's home. Those who were present will never forget that introduction. In presenting the guest of the evening, President Eliot alluded to the fact that he was a devout Confucianist, who every morning meditated upon the writings of the Chinese sage. Gazing in silence for a few moments at the company of bankers and prominent business men gathered at the tables, he remarked in earnest tones: 'I wonder how many of you supposedly Christian men are as scrupulous as our friend here in the matter of daily reading in what we consider our Sacred Book. As for myself, I would not think of beginning the day's work until I had refreshed my soul with meditations upon the deep and saving truths of our religion.'

President Hyde bears testimony to the religious motive that actuated Harvard's great president throughout his educational career. 'His reforms,' says President Hyde, 'have all been rooted in principles and purposes which at bottom are moral and religious.' [1] Mark Sullivan characterized him as 'the typical Puritan of modern times.' Forty years as president of America's oldest and greatest university, followed by seventeen years as a guide of public opinion brought to Charles William Eliot a fame and an influence unparalleled in the history of American education. That he bore his distinction with modesty and unselfishness, in a whole-hearted desire to be of service to his fellow men so long as life should last, attests how deep were the sources of his strength.

Among the many noble tributes which were pub-

[1] *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1899.

lished at the time of Dr. Eliot's death in August, 1926, none more lovingly and cogently expressed the balanced greatness of the man than the brief poem entitled 'C. W. E.,' by his old-time friend and neighbor, Dr. Francis G. Peabody, from which we select the following lines:

Severest critic, best of listeners,
Questioning all things with perennial youth,
Quick to detect when faulty logic errs,
Yet quicker to discern each note of truth;
Men call you unimpassioned, cold and stern,
The last survivor of the Puritan;
They little know the sympathies that burn
For every worthy cause or troubled man.
Straight to its mark your candid counsel flies,
Its shaft of judgment tipped with kind desire,
And those it pierces still unwounded rise,
Chastened but strong, and purified by fire.

The Harvard Faculty

When the eighties dawned at Harvard, President Eliot was in the midst of his task of changing a small college into a great university. A new spirit was permeating the entire institution, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the academic department. With the elective system well under way, with the introduction of many new courses, and the broadened outlook upon life, the college had taken its rightful place as the heart of the university.[1] Such a transformation could not have been brought about by the president alone; it was the result of hearty and sustained coöperation between him and a faculty of great distinction. Scanning the list of professors in the

[1] For a fine description of the intellectual atmosphere of Harvard and what it meant to the serious-minded students of the period, see *My Education and Religion*, by Dr. George A. Gordon, pp. 192 ff.

earlier catalogues of the decade, we are impressed by the fact that the men who collaborated with President Eliot in building the new Harvard were for the most part 'old-timers.' To a surprising extent they held over from earlier decades, not a few of them having received their appointment as far back as the fifties. The change was effected not so much by bringing in new men as by giving the old men a new chance. The names we shall mention, almost without exception, stand at the top of the list in the order of appointment.

Four there were who can hardly be claimed for the period we are discussing, although their names are listed in the catalogue of 1879–1880. James Russell Lowell, after serving Harvard for twenty-two years as Professor of Modern Languages (succeeding to the chair held by Longfellow) was appointed by President Hayes, in 1877, minister to Madrid, and was transferred to London in 1880. Thereafter his connection with Harvard was nominal. Oliver Wendell Holmes, holding a chair in the Medical School since 1847, but really belonging to the whole university, resigned in 1882, in order to devote himself to literature. The distinguished botanist, Asa Gray, whose books were used in nearly all the colleges of the land and whose work at Harvard began in 1843, was made Director of the Herbarium in 1883, and thereafter ceased to have active connection with the students. It was said of him when he died in 1888, 'He opened the doors of the popular world to science.'

Professor Sophocles (Evangelinus Apostolides), a native of Thessaly, who began teaching his mother-tongue at Harvard in 1842, continued on until 1883, an erratic, mysterious figure, a man of vast learning,

the author of many Greek texts, dwelling in the upper circle of faculty gods, which no undergraduate of ordinary mind ventured to approach.

Coming to the men who made the deepest impression upon the students of our decade, at the head of the list in point of seniority was Francis James Child, who, after teaching rhetoric and oratory for twenty-five years, became Professor of English in 1876. He was an inspiring teacher, his pupils feeling that he took a personal interest in their progress. Friendly and companionable, brilliant in conversation, he was held up as an example in the use of pure and forceful English. His title to fame in the literary world is attested by his two volumes on the 'Old English and Scottish Popular Ballads,' the first of which was published in 1882. Writing to a friend at the time of Professor Child's death in 1897, Charles Eliot Norton characterized him in this way: 'The most learned of the scholars of English, the most faithful of professors of fifty years, one of the sweetest and soundest-hearted men, a lover of all good things, a humorist, genial, original, excellent in talk, a most constant friend.' [1]

The same year that brought Professor Child to Harvard (1851) brought also Professor George Martin Lane, who for forty-three years taught Latin to Harvard men. In 1894, he was made professor emeritus and retired on an allowance equalling two thirds of his salary, an unusual arrangement, testifying to his sterling worth. He exerted a wide influence upon instruction in Latin throughout the colleges of the country. His outstanding contribution was the introduction of the new 'Continental' pronunciation of

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, p. 252.

Latin in the United States. To Harvard men he perhaps is best known as the author of the popular song, 'The Lone Fishball,' which was published after his death.

Charles Eliot Norton comes next in order, but we reserve him for special mention.

Josiah Parsons Cooke began as tutor in mathematics but was subsequently appointed instructor in chemistry and then made Ewing Professor of Chemistry. It may be said of him that he created Harvard's chemistry department. Beginning his first lecture with apparatus he had collected in his father's house while a lad, he lived to see an equipment not excelled elsewhere. He inaugurated the laboratory method in undergraduate courses in American schools. A writer of many books, wholly given to study, his work created a profound impression in Cambridge circles and throughout the scientific world.

Professor James Bradstreet Greenough made Harvard well known in the academies and high schools where boys fitted for college, by reason of his series of textbooks in Latin, which passed through many editions and were regarded as of standard merit. Beginning as a tutor in 1865, he became full Professor of Latin in 1883. The breadth of his scholarship is indicated by the fact that he was the first in any American college to offer a course in Sanskrit and comparative philology. As the organizer of the 'Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women,' popularly known as the 'Harvard Annex,' he is credited with being the real founder of Radcliffe College, which was the outgrowth of that organization.

An exceedingly interesting figure, but not widely

known among the students, was John Knowles Paine, for whom the Chair of Music was created in 1876, the first of its kind in America. Professor Paine was a distinguished performer on the organ and an excellent composer. He was perhaps best known for his 'Centennial Hymn' to words by Whittier, sung at the opening of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. He wrote the music for the Greek play, 'Œdipus Tyrannus,' at Harvard, in 1881. Best of all, he introduced the music of Bach in America and rendered a great service in acquainting the public with the musical standards and works of the German composers.

Shaler (Nathaniel Southgate) was a name to conjure with in the scientific world, and Harvard of the eighties may be credited with having his name on the faculty list. As a matter of fact, he was then rarely at Cambridge, being appointed State geologist for Kentucky in 1872, and United States geologist for the Atlantic coast in 1884. Although he belongs rather to the next decade, when he became dean of the Lawrence Scientific School, he made a strong impression in the earlier years, especially in helping students to form intelligent opinions on matters of public concern.

Dr. George A. Gordon, Class of '81, in his stimulating autobiography, mentions three teachers as influencing him profoundly during his Cambridge days. These were Professors George H. Palmer, William James, and William Watson Goodwin. Professor Palmer is still living. He was Assistant Professor of Philosophy when Dr. Gordon entered his classes, a young teacher thirty-six years of age and little known outside of Harvard scholastic circles. 'Palmer,' he declares, 'was one of the best teachers that I ever knew;

he was luminous, simple, learned, subtle in intellect, a great teacher, a great character, a great friend. I have lived in the field that he made visible and fruitful for me a great part of my days.'[1] Professor Palmer's contribution to philosophic progress, he considers to be the giving of a faithful and luminous exposition of English Empiricism and German Idealism side by side. He praises his ability in connecting 'great philosophic movements with the great philosophic personalities that initiated them,' and for his happy blending of literary interpretation with the abstract studies of his department. He was one of the chief defenders of the elective system when it was attacked by the conservatives, and his articles in the 'Andover Review,' referred to in a preceding chapter, are a good example of his clear logic and forceful English. Professor Palmer endeared himself to all the world (outside of Wellesley College) when in 1887 he married Alice Freeman, the president of that institution. There are those who think Mrs. Palmer had a good deal to do in ameliorating the rather frigid atmosphere of Harvard in the late eighties.

On the score of distinction achieved in later life, Professor James deserves extended treatment. In the eighties, however, he was just rounding into form, having been appointed Assistant Professor of Philosophy in 1885 and Professor of Psychology in 1889. Dr. Gordon speaks of him as 'a young man working slowly upon his great book "Principles of Psychology," a book which upon its publication placed him at once among the famous men in his subject all over the world.' He characterizes James in that period as 'brilliant, erratic, for weeks at a time languid and nearly useless,

[1] *My Education and Religion*, p. 194.

and then all at once for two or three weeks following he would be incomparably original and suggestive.' His verdict is that James was not great as a metaphysician, but that in the realm of psychology he was a man of genius. Through his gift of expression his books have become works of literature.[1]

Professor Josiah Royce, who in the next decade reached such eminence as a philosopher, already in the eighties was attracting favorable attention. It was in 1885 that he published his 'Religious Aspects of Philosophy.' Members of the classes from 1886 on, who took his courses, realized that they were sitting at the feet of a master.

Those of us who in the days of preparation found 'Goodwin's Greek Grammar' to be the most painful experience of our young lives, are glad that as a teacher the author was the embodiment of kindness and patience. Again we refer to Dr. Gordon, who considers Professor Goodwin to be not only one of America's greatest scholars, but in his own department of classical Greek 'almost, but not altogether, without a rival.' He pays loving tribute to the consideration which this eminent scholar had for students like himself whose preparation in Greek was faulty.

While speaking of Greek at Harvard, mention should be made of Professor John William White, Goodwin's associate, who became full professor in 1884. A philologist of the first rank, he was best known to the students as author of a 'Series of First Lessons in Greek,' and the editor of the 'First Four Books of Xenophon's Anabasis.' He did much work for the Classical School of Athens, 1881–87, edited the 'Har-

[1] *My Education and Religion*, p. 195.

vard Studies in Classical Philology,' and was in charge of the Greek play enterprise of 1881.

In 1880, President Eliot brought to Harvard as a teacher of rhetoric a brilliant but eccentric young man named Barrett Wendell. In 1925, his biography was published under the title 'Barrett Wendell and His Letters' and came to be recognized as the leading biographical work of the year, receiving the Pulitzer Prize. During the eighties, Wendell was not a great figure, but to the observing he gave abundant promise of what was to be. In spite of his mannerisms and his excessively English pronunciation and accent, students with a taste for literature were drawn to him and never failed to receive considerate attention. To the end of the period he gained in popularity, being conspicuous for his humor, his friendliness, his aristocratic spirit, his love of exaggeration, and his genuine literary taste. It was during the nineties that Wendell took his place in the front rank of Harvard teachers.

In the same department with Wendell, was Professor A. S. Hill, whose 'Principles of Rhetoric,' published in 1888, brought him fame within Harvard and without. Though less brilliant than Wendell, his influence upon his classes was exceedingly strong. His name is mentioned gratefully by Harvard men of the time. Of the younger men on the faculty who gave promise of the reputation they afterwards achieved, we would mention particularly James L. Laughlin, the economist, who later moved to Cornell University and still later to Chicago University; Kuno Francke, a native of Germany, who became Professor of German in 1887, and through whose influence the German Museum was established; Frank W. Taussig, who began as instruc-

tor in political economy in 1883 and who by the end of the decade had become a leading authority on the tariff; Albert Bushnell Hart, who started his career as instructor in history in 1884; and particularly Le Baron Russell Briggs, who became assistant professor of English in 1885, full professor in 1891, and whose appointment as dean a year later inaugurated a career of great distinction, particularly in the matter of introducing higher ideals in athletics and instituting much-needed reforms in that department of college activity.[1]

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

A member of the present Harvard faculty, of the Class of 1887, when asked to name the most conspicuous personality of his undergraduate days, replied without hesitation, 'Charles Eliot Norton.' This verdict is not likely to be challenged by Harvard men anywhere. Out of his own rather intimate student experience, John Jay Chapman, Class of 1884, writes: 'Norton was an important influence in undergraduate life when I was at Harvard; in some ways he was the most important man there. He took a personal interest in the students. You heard about Goodwin; you heard about Lane; but you *knew* Norton. Every one knew him. He was an academic power of the first magnitude, a great individuality through which the best traditions of American college life were continued. He gave to his students not only what he knew, but what he was. To do this implies greatness, and it is really by this kind of greatness that men are judged, whether they be teachers or men of action.' [2]

[1] Rollo Walter Brown, *Dean Le Baron R. Briggs*. Harpers.
[2] John Jay Chapman, *Memories and Milestones*, p. 129.

Mr. Chapman, in his admirable sketch, speaks of Norton's 'enormous influence over the youth who sat under him.' 'His image as it rises out of the past carries inspiration to professors everywhere.' 'His life-work,' Mr. Chapman affirms, 'consisted in making the unlettered, rough youth of America understand that there were such things as architecture, painting and sculpture. He could do this on a grand scale to two hundred men at once; he did it as a giant crane-shovel digs the Panama Canal.' 'More men,' he continues, 'have told me what Norton did for them in opening their understanding to the influence of art than have ever spoken to me of all the rest of Harvard professors put together.'

Mr. Chapman furnishes us with this picture of the Norton of his day. 'In 1880 he was a man of fifty-three, whose face showed immense character. He had the stoop of the student, the measured, accurate speech of the New England man of letters, a manner of speech indeed, which betrayed all things at a clap.'

Barrett Wendell, whose work as a member of the faculty brought him into close association with Norton, said of him in 1898, 'With obvious limitations he is by far the most accomplished of our surviving teachers, and almost the last gentleman of the fine, distinguished sort which the last generation had and which mine does not have.' In writing to Mrs. John L. Gardner, after Norton's death, he went so far as to say: 'Norton was in his own way the first man of his time among Americans.'[1]

Graduating from Harvard in 1840, Norton did not begin teaching until he was forty-six years old. When President Eliot, in 1873, committed to him the task of

[1] *Barrett Wendell and His Letters*, pp. 119, 324.

instructing Harvard youth in the fine arts, all his training had been as a man of letters; of teaching experience he had none. Like Wendell, he is an instance of Eliot's almost unerring instinct in selecting men of personality for his leading chairs. Possibly no appointment on the part of President Eliot has proved of greater consequence. Although it attracted small attention at the time, the world, especially the American world, is a richer and more beautiful place to-day because Norton came to Harvard.

He was given a long title, 'Instructor in the History of the Arts of Construction and Design and their Relation to Literature'; but cutting it short, he began to lecture on 'Fine Arts and their Relation to Literature.' This sets forth fairly well what his influence was to be during the twenty-three years of his teaching career — except that to 'Literature' we should add the magic word 'Life.'

The elective system worked to Norton's advantage, and by the middle of the eighties his course had become the most popular in the university. Later it was known as 'Fine Arts IV.' The college world, especially at Harvard, was ready for a venture of this kind. It was a case of the hour being ready for the man. Professor Norton once expressed the opinion that his utterances in class and elsewhere would not have produced the effect they did, 'had not the country been unacquainted — broadly speaking — with the fine arts and their power to rouse the imagination and influence the individual life. It was the showers on a thirsty land that quickened the soil.' [1]

[1] Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, 1913, vol. II, p. 7.

As for the university affording a congenial soil, Professor Norton paid generous tribute to the influence of President Eliot in bringing about a marked improvement in the general spirit and temper of the undergraduate body. Specifically, he attributed the change to three causes: the raising of the average age of the students, the establishment of the elective system, 'which requires each of them to select and determine his course of study,' and above all, 'the policy introduced and now firmly established in Harvard of treating the students as capable of self-government and responsible for their own conduct.' He was conscious of the fact that 'Fine Arts IV' was regarded by the Harvard men as a 'soft snap.' He was content to have it so, so long as a reasonable number of students took him seriously and were willing to engage in the large amount of reading which the course demanded. His aim was to open the world of beauty to those who had the ability and the character to respond. As for the others, there was a general, if somewhat superficial process of enlightenment which justified their being admitted to his courses. One year his class became so large that they had to adjourn to Sanders Theater. His appreciation of the motive that brought many of them there was conveyed by the remark, as he faced the throng, 'This is a sad sight.'

A writer of a tribute to Professor Norton in 1898, emphasizes the value of his work for the common herd. 'An average college boy,' he remarks, 'has a very rudimentary idea of art. Monograms of his class numerals, fancy sofa-cushions, and memories of long lines in perspective of stupid foreign galleries, make up, to the younger men at any rate, "art interest."' 'It

has been Mr. Norton's task at Harvard,' the writer concludes, 'to work upon such youth, to turn their ignorance into a desire for knowledge, their listlessness into appreciation, and their interest, when there was any, into work. This he has done, and of the hundreds who have attended the Fine Arts courses, not one has left college without at least an elementary power of artistic judgment.' [1] A good illustration of this generalized influence is given by Barrett Wendell, from a personal experience. In a certain lecture on Greek art, says Wendell, Norton used some devastating comments on the contrast between Greek articles of personal adornment and the machine-made scarf-pins, or watch-chains with dangling appendages, then observable in any company of American youth. A classmate of Wendell's subsequently reproached Norton in private for lack of sentiment, and pointed to a horseshoe on his own watch-chain which had affectionately been given him by his mother, and which he was proud to wear for her sake. Norton's reply was gentle but final. 'An object of piety,' he pointed out, 'is not consequently a thing of beauty.' The remark was resented at the time. Years after, Wendell met this student at a Roman goldsmith's, choosing some trifle for his wife. The horseshoe still gleamed not very far from his heart, 'where it belonged'; but he showed Wendell two pieces of delicate workmanship between which he was hesitating, 'and he asked seriously and simply which I thought Norton would prefer.' [2]

As for Norton's influence upon the more serious-minded, the testimony is immensely impressive. A

[1] Article in *Time and the Hour*, April 2, 1898.
[2] *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1909.

typical tribute is from a member of the Class of 1881, who rated him as 'the greatest influence in my life.' 'All I have been and am was affected by his teaching and character. He was the only real 'master' I ever had. He gave me a desire to think clearly and speak accurately, and an admiration of elegant scholarship; he implanted in me the seeds of a loathing of affectation and vulgarity.'[1] This was the type of student that Professor Norton had constantly in view and in respect to whom his finest work was done. It is significant that while the boys who crowded his courses found it easy to secure the requisite 'pass marks,' to win a mark of distinction was an exceedingly difficult thing.

Turning to Norton's methods and aims as a teacher, the clearest witness came from two associates, Wendell and Palmer. In the 'Atlantic' article referred to above, Wendell says: 'His supreme trait as a teacher was exquisite precision — of manner, of speech, of knowledge, and even still more of conviction. Such precision could not help lending itself to parody. At class dinners, accordingly, and at such other reunions of men whom he had taught, we have been apt for years to find some pleasant mimics ready to enliven the occasion by variably happy imitations of Norton's lectures. Such imitation would generally begin with a fantastically simple statement of fact, historical, literary, or artistic; it would pass on to some critical comment so extravagant for exactitude that only the hesitant gentleness of the mimic's delivery could keep him from seeing explosives, and it would conclude in extensive ethical observations, ranging from political honor to table manners, as remote from the original

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, p. 11.

matter in hand as the Man in the Moon. Several of these were given in his presence and he would laugh heartily.' [1]

The caricaturing of Norton was always of the gentle and harmless sort, a tribute alike to the originality and the amiability of the man. Once the Harvard 'Lampoon' sketched him in the lecture-room. On the table before him reposed the high hat he used to wear, described as the 'remarkable covering of a head so filled with lines of beauty as to be careless of their external existence in its immediate neighborhood.'

Professor Palmer contrasts Norton's broadly cultural method with the highly specialized, scientific teaching of to-day. What he created was an atmosphere of culture. His methods would be 'superbly out of date in our specialistic time.' This was because he saw in the fine arts the embodiment of men's deepest and most durable ideals. Professor Palmer describes how with almost religious fervor Norton brought his art-ideals to bear upon every aspect of faulty and careless life around him. 'He has been a preacher of reverence to a headlong age. Both for faculty and students, Mr. Norton himself has been more important than what he said.' [2]

The ethical quality of Norton's teaching was early detected by his students and was commented upon by many in later life. He had the spirit of the preacher, a trait which is easily accounted for when we remember that he was descended from a long line of New England clergymen. After a course on the 'Art of the

[1] *The Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1909, p. 82.

[2] Editorial in *The World's Work*, December, 1908, quoting Professor Palmer.

Ancients,' his son remarked to him that it should have been entitled, 'Lectures on Modern Morals as Illustrated by the Art of the Ancients,' and to this Norton good-naturedly assented. Possibly he acquired this habit as a result of his friendship with Ruskin through many years.

A deeper view, however, would emphasize that what Norton had in mind was the humanizing of knowledge. To him art and literature were expressions of what lies deepest in life. This gave him his peculiar power. 'What he touched lived,' says William Roscoe Thayer; 'there was no dead knowledge; even erudition took on an unwonted glow.' Attention has been called to the fact that he was an ideal translator, as of Dante, because he was a discerner of the human spirit behind the vast phenomena of its expression. Add Norton's purpose to quicken the imagination of the student and you have the secret of his greatness well in hand. His biography makes clear that to his mind the end of a liberal education is found in the training of the imagination as the supreme faculty of human nature, with the consequent widening of the horizon. To that end he gave himself with definite intention in his university courses. 'It mattered not if the subject were Egyptian art, Greek art, or that of the Renaissance; an intelligent reading of the Rosetta Stone of the Arts could be interpreted in but one way: the way of culture and heightened enjoyment, of practical application of a noble ideal to life.' [1] In the midst of all this idealism and expansion through the imagination, Norton maintained a sanity of judgment not always found in men of his temperament and tastes.

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, p. 6.

To deal at all adequately with Norton as a man of letters would carry us far afield and transgress the limits of this sketch. But it must be kept in mind that throughout much of his teaching career, and for several years thereafter, he was considered to be the dean of American Letters. As such his influence upon public thought and taste was great. On intimate terms with Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Curtis, and Holmes, he belonged essentially to the group that made Boston the literary center of the United States and that gave America a standing-place among men of letters the world over. Furthermore, he was the warm friend of Carlyle, Ruskin, Leslie Stephen, and Kipling. His friendship with Ruskin extended over forty-six years, and accounts for many things in his philosophy of art. It is sufficient evidence of his high place in the world of letters that he became successively the literary executor of Lowell, Emerson, Curtis, Carlyle, and Ruskin.

He was the foremost of American Dante scholars, the founder of the American Dante Society; and his prose translation of the 'Divine Comedy,' published in 1891, is regarded as the standard work to-day. Sympathetic insight, accuracy, and good taste are his leading characteristics as a writer. Hamilton Mabie gives us this delightful incident connected with the Norton summer home at Ashfield, Massachusetts: 'Years ago a friend found him one summer evening in his library at Ashfield, encompassed by books lying open on chairs, table, and floor. Mr. Lowell was with him. "You know," he said, after welcoming his visitor, "that Dante chose his words more carefully than any other man who has written. There is but one

equivalent for Dante's word. Mr. Lowell and I have been quarrelling for years about an adjective; we're still at it." ' It can easily be imagined what it meant to Harvard to have a man of such distinction occupying a chair on her faculty.

Norton was not universally popular. We doubt if he was popular at all in the deeper way — the way of Mark Hopkins, of Noah Porter, of George H. Palmer, of Charles E. Garman, of William DeWitt Hyde. The boys crowded his courses, they admired the accuracy and brilliancy of his learning, they accepted his dictum, they were immensely influenced by his point of view. But few of them really loved the man. Even John Jay Chapman, who tells how freely Norton gave of himself, withholds that glowing affection which characterizes the ideal relation of teacher and pupil. Chapman objected to a certain literary and æsthetic pose — what to-day we should call a superiority complex — which he felt characterized the Boston clique of letters. If you were in his home, says Chapman, and he handed you a curio or a remark, it was done with the assumption that he knew more about such things than you could ever know. One day, after a performance of Beethoven's 'Eroica Symphony,' Norton remarked to a fellow professor on the steps of Sanders Theater that after all the 'sentiment' of the funeral march was a little 'forced.' [1]

Professor Norton early in his career surrendered his religious convictions and to the end of his days maintained a position of confirmed and somewhat militant skepticism. His outlook upon life was frankly pessimistic so far as any hope of resolving the mystery of

[1] Chapman: *Memories and Milestones*, pp. 94, 138.

the universe is concerned. He gloried in this and was somewhat over-fond of making exasperating remarks when people of religious sensibilities were present. In the face of the wear and tear of daily living his bearing was the quintessence of cheerfulness and calm. In writing to Edward Lee Childe, in 1884, he used this language: 'We absolute pessimists accept this as the best of all possible worlds, and having no hope of a better, take whatever happens, not with resignation, for this implies disappointment, but with a smile of some sort so long as we are not starving, or in physical pain, or the east wind is not blowing. Your out-and-out pessimist is cheerful.' [1] To Goldwin Smith he wrote: 'Possibly I regret less than you do the giving up of the old faith, and being compelled to renounce as hopeless every attempt to solve the problems which excite our curiosity. . . . We are thrown back on our own resources to make the best of our lives.'

Yet, explain it as we may, Norton believed in and worked for social and intellectual progress. He was public-spirited and gave himself to any cause, literary, artistic, or political, which appealed to his judgment. Two noteworthy achievements in this realm were the founding of the American Institute of Archæology in Athens, of which he became the first president, and the saving of the beauties of Niagara through the establishment of the State Reservation.

Like most great men Norton was a person of bewildering complexity of mind, full of contrasts and incongruities. He was probably of humbler spirit than his patronizing ways implied. His intimate friends knew that behind his irreligion there was not a little

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, pp. 8, 167.

of tender religious feeling. He was the first cousin of President Eliot, and resembled his relative and chief in many ways. On his side, President Eliot paid high tribute to Norton's ability and effectiveness as a teacher. Harvard's estimate of his work and of his abiding influence is indicated by the establishment in 1925 of the 'Norton Professorship of Poetry,' by Mr. Charles Chauncey Stillman, of the Class of 1898, the last year of Norton's services as Professor of the History of Art. In so naming the foundation, 'Poetry' is to be used in its widest sense, including imaginative expression in music and the fine arts as well as in words. There could be no more fitting memorial of this brilliant and stimulating teacher of twenty-three classes of Harvard men.

Yale

PRESIDENT NOAH PORTER

The period of the eighties at Yale was almost equally divided between the presidencies of Noah Porter and Timothy Dwight. The administration of the former began in 1871 and ended in 1886; that of the latter began when President Porter laid down his task and continued until 1899. The two men were alike as representing the New England tradition of choosing for the head of a college a clergyman of scholarly attainments and academic experience. Dr. Dwight said of his predecessor, 'He possessed in an unusual degree that peculiar kind of intelligence which belongs to New England and which appreciates and has a readiness to adapt itself to the conditions and circumstances of life as they present themselves.'[1] Dr. Porter could have

[1] *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, p. 343.

said the same of Dr. Dwight. Both came from long lines of New England ancestry, notable for sound learning and piety of the vital sort. As educational leaders these men differed widely in temperament and outlook, the one standing primarily for the past, the other for the future. The change of administration at commencement, 1886, marked the emergence of the new Yale, and serves as a landmark in the history of higher education in New England.

As an administrator President Porter suffered somewhat in comparison with President Theodore D. Woolsey, his predecessor — one of America's most versatile scholars — and with Dr. Dwight, who developed rare ability as an executive and manager of men. Yet Dr. Porter impressed his generation as maintaining the best traditions of the office and as laying foundations for the changes which were bound to come. If there was to be an ending of the old régime, the process of transition could not have been in better hands.

Called to the presidency from the chair of mental and moral philosophy, Dr. Porter continued his teaching functions throughout his term of office, and, indeed, during several following years. This was a fortunate circumstance as it revealed the man on the larger side of his genius. There was little in appearance or personality to suggest the headship of a great institution of learning, and the undergraduates, dealing with him on the administrative side, might not have appreciated his intellectual powers. But in the classroom his influence was remarkable. Year after year the senior class voted him the most popular teacher of the faculty, until the thing became so assured that he

was ruled out of consideration and the vote was taken on the most popular teacher aside from the president.[1] He was especially liked for his fairness and kindliness, it being his theory that it is better to help a student to make good recitation than ruthlessly to flunk him. He had a clear, penetrating mind, and knew how to connect abstract truth with questions of practical concern. With him the teaching of philosophy was far from being the dry process associated with the name; it was full of vital, human interest. Yale men to-day will tell you of how Prexy Porter annihilated Spencer and all his school. With deep veneration for the past he was well disposed toward new ventures in the truth, and was keenly appreciative of the thoughts and questionings of those younger than himself. He was never afraid of the truth.

Those who were fortunate enough to come into closer touch with Noah Porter as personal pupils, who at times were invited to his house for intimate discussion on themes which were merely broached in the classroom, came to venerate him as both scholar and saint. Such an one was Mr. Nakashima, of Japan, to whom Dr. Porter took a strong liking and for whose preparation as a teacher of philosophy to his own countrymen he gave himself in a most generous way. Years after, when Nakashima was head of the Department of Philosophy in the Imperial University of Tokyo, he expressed to one of the writers his sense of vast indebtedness to President Porter of Yale, alluding particularly to the hours he had spent with him in the

[1] President Porter received the vote in 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, and would have in 1880 had it been understood he was to be considered as a member of the faculty.

old colonial mansion on Hillhouse Avenue. Who can valuate personal influences of this kind?

There was trouble during President Porter's administration over fundamental questions of policy, which, arising in the faculty, became noised abroad among the alumni and eventually found their way into the press. One of these was the question of electives. Although in 1876 nearly half the studies of the last two years of the course were put upon the optional basis, Yale was considered backward in the matter of adapting the curriculum to the broadening realm of knowledge, and pressure was brought to bear upon the president to institute more radical changes. Dr. Porter was naturally conservative on this subject; he stood for the old ideals by which Latin, Greek, mathematics, and philosophy were the bones and sinews of a college course. He finally yielded to the urgency of his colleagues on the faculty, and in 1884 all studies of the senior year, except those pertaining to mental and moral science, and half of those of the junior year, were made elective.

A more personal controversy arose over the question of the choice of textbooks by professors. Professor Sumner, of the Department of Political and Social Science, had adopted as a textbook Herbert Spencer's 'Study of Sociology.' This was regarded by President Porter as materialistic in view and hence unsuited to an institution like Yale, with its Christian background and belief. In 1880 a vigorous protest was lodged by the more conservative members of the faculty. Two issues were involved: the propriety of the textbook in question and the matter of authority — should a professor be allowed to choose textbooks for his classes

without reference to the opinion of the president and the general policy of the institution? It was the problem of freedom of teaching in one of its most acute forms. The lines were closely drawn, Sumner being opposed by ex-president Woolsey, still very much of a force, and by professors like Cyrus Northrop and Franklin Carter, later president of Williams. In his favor were James D. Dana, O. C. Marsh, James K. Thacher, Henry A. Beers, and others of the more liberal type. The controversy got into the papers and highly spiced articles appeared in the 'New York Times' and the 'Evening Post.'

For a time President Porter yielded to Sumner's representations. The book was not to his liking, either on philosophical or pedagogical grounds; but he hesitated to assert his authority over a man of Sumner's ability and aggressiveness and in the face of a divided faculty. When the issue would not down it was brought before the corporation and then President Porter stood his ground in such a way that a resolution was prepared asserting the right of the president to veto the use of any textbook which seemed to him objectionable. The resolution, however, was not presented. Professor Sumner, who had threatened to resign and who stated that he could brook no interference with his department, voluntarily withdrew the book on the ground that because of the agitation its usefulness was gone, since the students were chiefly interested to find what was objectionable in it. Thus no actual decision was reached on the issue involved. The friends of Sumner claimed that the moral victory was on his side and that as a result of the controversy the ascendancy of the scientific spirit was assured in

the university.[1] It is to be remembered, however, that Yale owes it to President Porter that in 1872, in the face of considerable opposition, the fiery and radical Sumner had been called to the chair of Political and Social Science.

The period of controversy quickly passed and President Porter was able to close his administration in prosperity and peace. Greatly aided by the far-visioned and robust-minded Professor Thacher, he saw the permanent funds of the institution increased by nearly a million dollars, while he was instrumental in securing a like amount for new buildings, ten of these being erected during his régime, including Battell Chapel, Durfee and Lawrence Halls as dormitories, Dwight Hall for religious purposes, Sloan Laboratory, the Observatory, and the Peabody Museum, not to mention buildings connected with other than the academic department.

Dr. Porter was an able writer and a number of his best works were composed during the eighties. Among them were 'Science and Sentiment,' 'Evangeline: the Place, the Story, and the Poem,' 'Life of Bishop Berkeley,' 'Elements of Moral Science,' 'Critical Exposition of Kant's Ethics.'

The loving esteem in which President Porter was held by students and alumni was expressed in a poem written shortly after his death by Robert C. Rogers, '83, from which we take the opening stanzas:

'Alike all loved him; careful student, drone,
Scapegrace or steady man; all knew
His mild reproof was for their help alone,

[1] For a most interesting account of this historic controversy, see Harris E. Starr: *William Graham Sumner*, chap. xv.

And his reproofs were few.
No man remembers him to have his heart
Tingle with some keen unforgotten smart.

No gift of comeliness had he, scant grace
Of bearing, little pride of mien —
He had the rugged old-time Roundhead face,
Severe and yet serene.
But through those keen and steadfast eyes of blue
The soul shone, fearless, modest, strong and true.' [1]

PRESIDENT TIMOTHY DWIGHT

A tall, large-framed, oldish-looking gentleman garbed in black, conspicuously bald, a fringe of gray hair falling to his collar, with shaggy eyebrows, bushy side-whiskers, bespectacled eyes, a well-developed scholar's stoop, entering a theological classroom with a stack of books under his arm — such was Timothy Dwight in the mid-eighties, when they made him president of Yale. This was the man chosen to lead the college out of the wilderness of a conservative past into the Promised Land of liberalism and expanding life. There was nothing of the modern in his appearance. He seemed rather the typical bookworm of the olden time. Seated at a mahogany table in a library lined to the ceiling with musty tomes, he would have offered a congenial subject for one of the old Flemish masters and might have been labeled 'Scholar among His Books.'

In the light of what transpired between 1886 and 1899, one of two things must have been discerned by the Yale Corporation. Either Professor Dwight, during the twenty-eight years he had been teaching the Greek New Testament in the Divinity School, had

[1] Anson Phelps Stokes: *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men*, vol. 1, p. 333.

manifested administrative and practical ability unnoted by the world; or he was an illustration, of which there are not a few, of how a genuine scholar, when called upon to concentrate upon a task of a purely practical nature, will often develop ability of a high order. We have seen a professor of Latin make a successful faculty director of athletics, also a professor of philosophy handle the details of a presidential inauguration with the skill of a military commander. Our surmise is that the friends of Timothy Dwight were convinced he could qualify on both of these counts. Grandson of a former president of Yale — the original Timothy Dwight, famous as a theologian who by a series of sermons turned the tide of French infidelity that swept in after the American Revolution — he was son of a successful merchant of Norwich, Connecticut, from whom he inherited considerable property. There appears to have been a happy blending of the two strains in his blood. In any event, appearances were 'deceitful,' and the old-fashioned professor in the Divinity School, as the twelfth president of Yale, proved to be the man of the hour.

Without exception the 'theologs' of Yale believed that 'Timmy Dwight' would prove to be a success. They knew him in that delightful spiritual and intellectual *camaraderie* which has always characterized the divinity classrooms of Yale, and also in the closer intimacy of his own study, to which they resorted with their problems of theological belief and personal finance. In the classroom, the picture he made when lecturing was almost comical. The combination of round shoulders and near-sightedness led him to bury his nose in his manuscript or book. About all that the

class beheld was his shining pate fringed with gray locks, except when he occasionally lifted his head without raising his shoulders. When lecturing on the Synoptic Gospels he could be as scientific and as dry as any professor of Bonn or Berlin University where he had studied. Before the Class of 1886 (and possibly other classes), he occupied the lecture period on three consecutive days with the consideration of the Greek word ἐπιούσιον in the Lord's Prayer, discussing whether it should be translated 'daily,' 'of to-morrow,' 'continual,' or 'needful.' At the close of the third lecture he raised his head from the Greek versions spread upon the desk, pushed his spectacles up on his forehead and remarked: 'Well, gentlemen, that is all I care to say on this subject at the present time.' When a laugh went around the class, he added with an understanding smile, 'I thought it might be worth while to give you an example of a thorough treatment of a difficult problem in New Testament interpretation. After this we can proceed with more rapidity.'

When it came to dealing with the Fourth Gospel, which he considered to be written by the Apostle John, Dr. Dwight was on more congenial ground. Here both his scholarship and his spiritual insight came into play and his lectures took on a deeply religious tone. As he lingered over the discourses of the Upper Chamber, he seemed to be a reincarnation of the Beloved Disciple himself. Out of such experiences his students gained a hint of the richly human qualities of the man who was chosen as the official head of Yale.

Although President Dwight's administration proved to be a noteworthy one, it was devoid of dramatic incidents and can best be characterized in terms of

academic achievement. The central idea of his administration, as he looked out upon it from the beginning and described it in later years, was that of the university as distinguished from the college. It was the idea which had inspired him in all his work in upbuilding the Divinity School, and which he had been advocating before Yale men for many years. Once he had written a series of articles on the 'True Ideal of an American University,' and these had attracted much favorable attention. It was said that no alumnus had devoted more thought, time, and strength to the promotion of the development of Yale than he. Hitherto Yale had been essentially an undergraduate institution; the college so completely overshadowed the other departments that in the minds of the public, as indeed of Yale men, the college was Yale. If the departments of natural and physical science (the Sheffield Scientific School), of art, of law, of medicine, of theology, were considered it was as departments attached to the college as a center. President Dwight's idea was an institution including in itself all the faculties 'and having the several departments, together with such as might be added to them at later periods, co-equal and coördinate.'

A plan looking to the formation of a thoroughgoing university was broached to the corporation at an early meeting, was approved, and, as a first step, the Legislature of Connecticut was petitioned for the right to change the name of the corporation from that of *Yale College* to that of *Yale University*. This was done in 1887. Although the proposal was received with considerable hesitation on the part of certain old-time Yale men, and there were wounded feelings for a time,

all doubt of the wisdom of the plan disappeared after a few years, and President Dwight was given a free hand to work out his university ideal.

There was a necessary change in the conception and scope of the president's office. As head of the university, Dr. Dwight felt that his relations must be made central to every department; the concerns of the schools of theology, law, medicine, science, and art were to be his as much as those of the academic department. The steady development of these graduate schools attests the wisdom of his course. He asked to be relieved of all responsibility for teaching, and after a few years it was almost forgotten that the major part of his life had been spent as a professor in the Divinity School. Similarly, he insisted that the details of college discipline should be dissociated from the duties of the presidency. The deans of the various departments acquired a new dignity under Dr. Dwight's leadership and the unification of the institution was so wisely handled that it made for the glorification of the several parts.

President Dwight felt that the supplying of the college pulpit was too great and difficult a task to assign to any one man. He accordingly introduced a rotation of such preachers as were calculated to stimulate the students in spiritual ways. His volume of sermons preached in Battell Chapel reveals how rich and frequent were his own contributions to the pulpit. In order to obtain first-hand knowledge of the finances of the university, President Dwight filled the office of university treasurer, when a vacancy occurred in that office, and pending the securing of a permanent official.

In such ways the scope of the executive duties per-

taining to the office of president was enlarged to match the developing life of the university. The four years of his régime which fell in the eighties were an intensely busy and fruitful period. It is doubtful if any other four years of like import can be found in the long history of Yale, following the removal from Saybrook to New Haven in 1716.

Toward the end of the decade following the eighties President Dwight became a venerable figure who commanded to a singular degree the affection of the student body. This was particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that he seldom came in personal contact with the students. It would appear that college boys — we say this to their credit, and in contradiction of the popular notion that youth holds old age in light esteem — really enjoy having men of ripe experience participate in college affairs, especially when it comes to presiding at public functions. An aged president or an aged professor should be and generally is a blessing to any college. In the case of 'Prexy' Dwight the innate kindliness of the man offers sufficient explanation of his popularity. We owe to a member of the Class of 1897 the following characteristic incident:

I remember at my Junior Prom, he stopped at the box which was occupied by my mother and engaged in a long conversation with her. Busy as I naturally was on that occasion I became so fascinated by the President's remarks that I forgot everything but to listen. He spoke of the joy of growing old and there was a depth of conviction, a warm sincerity in the words describing his happiness in being at length 'among the old' which left an impression on my mind which has never grown dim. I carry with me a picture of 'Prexy' Dwight which I wish every one could share, for it

becomes more vivid the older I grow; it is the picture of a truly happy man.

The Faculty at Yale

Yale men of the eighties, especially those who graduated in the earlier part of the decade, have complained, some of them rather bitterly, of the meagerness of the curriculum which obtained in the college department. They maintain that the course of study should have been broadened long before it was and that Yale suffered both in numbers and in prestige because of the delay in introducing the elective system. These same Yale men must realize now, if they did not at the time, that large compensation came to them from the fact that the faculty of the period was composed of exceptionally able teachers. Of the 'Old Guard,' left over from the days of President Woolsey, there were Thomas A. Thacher, Professor of Latin; Herbert A. Newton, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy; Othniel C. Marsh, Professor of Palæontology; Josiah Willard Gibbs, Professor of Mathematical Physics; and James D. Dana, Professor of Mineralogy and Geology.

Of these, Dana alone made much of an impression upon the students. The others were great figures from the past, serving to mellow the atmosphere rather than to make it throb with life. Thacher, who in the previous era had been characterized as 'the most influential person in the professorial body as related to all things pertaining to the government and discipline of the student community,'[1] died in 1884. Newton, who began teaching in 1855, lived until 1896, but after 1880

[1] Timothy Dwight: *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, p. 166.

his contacts with the student body were few. Marsh was a great palæontologist, the greatest of his time, but his specialty was too limited to permit his being known on the campus. Particularly disliking his first name, Othniel, he always signed himself O. C. Marsh. This fact, with his well-known addiction to the geological hammer, led to the making of the clever parody,

'Break, break, break,
On thy cold grey stones, O. C.'

Professor Gibbs was not widely known by undergraduates or by the general public. Yet he is recognized to-day as one of the most prominent men of science America has produced, his great achievement being the discovery and interpretation of the laws of chemical equilibrium. 'The significance of his work is that he first brought under the domain of law the relation of heat to chemical action.'[1] Henry Adams spoke of him as 'the greatest of Americans, judged by his rank in science.' Lord Kelvin, when visiting New Haven a few years ago, expressed the opinion that a hundred years from now Yale would be best known in the world for having produced Willard Gibbs. The treatise which made him famous, published in the 'Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences,' bore the formidable title 'The Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances.' When it was referred by the editor to two mathematicians, they remarked, after studying the article, which contained over seven hundred complex formulæ, that there was only one man in the world who could have understood

[1] Anson Phelps Stokes: *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men*, Yale University Press, vol. II, p. 66.

it and he was dead. Of the same paper a scientific writer has recently remarked, 'The iron and steel which pour from a thousand furnaces to make the sinews of the modern world; the porcelain in our houses; the cement in our walls; the immense synthetic nitrogen plant at Muscle Shoals, together with other processes of industrial chemistry, depend for their intelligent understanding and control on some of the principles laid down in that paper Willard Gibbs published a half-century ago.[1] He was an investigator rather than a teacher, and few students had the mathematical ability and training requisite for his courses. It is stated that at one time he had only two men in his classroom, but they both became professors in Yale University. Anson Phelps Stokes places Willard Gibbs among the six Yale 'Immortals,' the others being Chancellor Kent, Samuel F. B. Morse, Jonathan Edwards, Fenimore Cooper, and Noah Webster.[2]

Although Dana was famous long before the eighties set in, this period saw much of his best work. Up to the time of his retirement in 1893 he was very much a factor in Yale academic life. As a lecturer and teacher he was placed in the front rank by those who were fortunate enough to elect his courses. They will never forget his sharply cut profile, his mass of tousled white hair, his alert step (he could outwalk any of the boys on a geological trip) and his kindling enthusiasm for whatever subject he had in hand. A member of the Class of '82 describes how Dana one day was lecturing in the Peabody Museum, when Professor George P. Fisher,

[1] Article by C. G. Poore, in the *New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 1926.

[2] *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men*, vol. 1, p. 3.

of the Divinity School, appeared with the well-known English historian Freeman, whom he was showing about the university. Fisher whispered in Dana's ear who the guest was and asked him to come over and be introduced. Dana replied, in a whisper which several overheard, that he could not think of leaving his class for such a purpose. Great scientist as he was, his classes stood first in his mind. His fame outside of Yale was spread by his 'Manual of Mineralogy' and his 'Manual of Geology,' both standard works of the time, used extensively as textbooks in the other colleges of New England.

The leading figures in the younger, yet well-seasoned set, were: William G. Sumner, Cyrus Northrop, Henry P. Wright, Tracy Peck, Henry A. Beers, and Edward J. Phelps. Of these we have selected Sumner for more extensive treatment in the pages that follow.

So great became the fame of Cyrus Northrop as president of the University of Minnesota that many are not aware that he was ever a professor at Yale. Yet he taught there for twenty years before accepting the western call. His chair was Rhetoric and English Literature, and during the earlier part of his career, 1863–1870, his was the only regular instruction in the English language and literature offered in the college. Even so, he gave only half-time to teaching, as during most of his New Haven professorship he filled also the position of Collector of the Port of New Haven. His work was mainly in rhetoric, which he taught with such incisive vigor and caustic wit that his sayings were reported all over the campus. One of his repartees has become classic. At a certain lecture, the hour having expired, the students, after their manner,

began to scrape the floor with their feet. 'Be patient, gentlemen,' remarked the professor, 'I have a few more pearls to cast.' On one occasion he met his match and that from an unexpected quarter. A timid Chinese student was having his essay criticized before the class. He had used the sentence, 'I wrote a letter to my mother.' Professor Northrop objected to the use of superfluous words. 'Why do you say "letter,"' he thundered. 'What on earth could you write to your mother except a letter?' 'Please, professor,' stammered the frightened Oriental, 'I thought I might have written a postal card.'

Northrop went to Minneapolis in 1884, and his success there was immediate. Large appropriations were obtained from the legislature of the State, new departments in the university were opened, a bewildering array of buildings sprang up on the campus, eminent teachers were secured, and the student body expanded enormously. In a few years he placed Minnesota in the front rank of State universities. When he resigned in 1918, he was recognized as the leading citizen of Minnesota.

Henry P. Wright was beloved of all Yale men of the period. He had served in the Civil War and was of the finest type of American. As teacher of Latin he was famous for the old-fashioned drill on rules and forms, but also for his enthusiasm over the civilization of the Romans. In the latter part of the decade, when he was appointed to the deanship of the college — the first to fill that office — 'Baldy' Wright, as he was affectionately called, came to possess an influence of far-reaching character. It is correct to describe it as based on actual affection for him. This is all the more note-

worthy because, at that stage of Yale's development, the dean's contact with the students was almost invariably of a disciplinary nature. He was a man of unusual breadth of understanding, tolerant of human frailties, and ever ready to see only what it was desirable to see when he felt the college rules had been violated in letter but not in spirit. On the other hand, no one ever tried twice to impose upon 'Baldy.' It was once remarked of him, 'Dean Wright must be a great liar, because he can tell a lie as soon as he hears it.' With unanimity the alumni named for their beloved dean, the college dormitory which was built by general subscription and which is to-day one of the finest at Yale.

Professor Tracy Peck, in the department of Latin, was a distinguished scholar, especially in Roman archæology and epigraphy. Through his leadership of learned societies he illustrated the part played by Yale in the field of scholarship on a national scale. For many years he was active in the councils of the American Philological Association. By reason of his appointment to the American School of Classical Studies at Rome he became a leading authority in Roman antiquities. More than one Yale man can testify to the rare privilege he enjoyed in having Professor Peck as his guide through the catacombs. Year by year he grew in the estimation and affection of his pupils and is recognized now as one of the most distinguished teachers of the period.

Professor Beers, who years before his death in the autumn of 1926 had come to be known as 'the Grand Old Man of Yale,' had not reached the apex of fame in those days, but he was rated high by the students and

it was known that he brought renown to Yale as a distinguished man of letters. The students elected his courses freely, even though he was considered a great writer and critic rather than a great teacher. 'Appreciation of his profound scholarship, and his refined literary taste,' as a man of '82 remarked, 'was lacking among us college youth for the most part, owing partly, no doubt, to what seemed great reserve of character — a fact which led not a few of us to vain regrets in after years.' [1]

A great favorite with the senior classes was Professor Edward J. Phelps, who came to Yale in 1881 as Kent Professor of Law, and who lectured most interestingly on constitutional law and on international relations. As president of the American Bar Association he brought distinction to the university and this was much enhanced when in 1885 President Cleveland appointed him minister to England. An old-time Vermont Democrat, cultured, courteous, fine-looking, he was one of the great figures of the period, popular with faculty and students alike.

There was a tutor at Yale during the eighties who deserves a place among the great ones, both because of what he became and because of what he was. His name was Arthur Twining Hadley. Yale men of the decade, when asked if young Hadley gave promise of the qualities which in 1899 made him the thirteenth president of the university — the first layman to hold the office — are emphatic in saying that he did. 'The

[1] In his *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men*, vol. I, p. 110, Mr. Stokes states that in 1885 the teaching of English was entirely carried on by two professors, both fortunately eminent — Lounsbury and Beers — and one tutor. Twenty-five years later, 1910, the English faculty of professorial grade numbered fifteen, with about half as many additional tutors.

brainiest man on the faculty,' some of them were remarking as early as 1882. Graduating in 1876, the story of his intellectual prowess became a campus tradition. As an undergraduate he won the Woolsey and Bristed scholarship, the Winthrop prize for thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin poets, the Clark prize for the solution of astronomical problems, the Townsend prize for excellence in English composition, and graduated as valedictorian. Yet he was not called a 'dig,' but rather was known as an all-round man, interested in student activities of all kinds. Beginning in 1879, he appears to have been general-utility man on the faculty, at one time teaching Latin and at another logic until 1883 when he became lecturer on railroad administration. In 1885 he published a book on railroad transportation which made him a recognized authority at home and abroad, and which was quoted on the floor of the British Parliament. In 1886 he was made Professor of Economics and substituted for Professor Sumner while the latter was in Europe. He gave the impression of knowing everything — a man of the Johnsonian type. His oddities of speech and manner but added to the interest of the students. Sundry legends arose at Yale relating to Hadley's precocity in early childhood and youth. One of them became current coin of conversation and is a favorite in New Haven to-day. It was narrated that Arthur, upon arrival in the world, cried out 'ἔρχομαι!' Whereupon his father, the famous Greek scholar, James Hadley, in pedagogic tones replied, 'ἦθλον! my son, ἦθλον!'

In addition to these stars of the academic department, there were the 'Big Four' of the faculty of the

Sheffield Scientific School — George J. Brush, Dean and Professor of Mineralogy; Thomas R. Lounsbury, Professor of English; William D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology; and William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture. The influence and reputation of these men spread far beyond the confines of the scientific department; they were among the great personalities of the period. Lounsbury was the eminent biographer of James Fenimore Cooper and author of 'Studies in Chaucer' and 'History of the English Language.' Of Professor Whitney it may be said that, as the foremost American philologist, he carried the reputation of Yale to the ends of the earth.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER

Professor Sumner began teaching as full professor at Yale in 1872 and continued until a year before his death in 1910. During this period of thirty-seven years his influence and fame saw a steady and at times a rapid growth. By the middle of the eighties he was considered (by the students at least) the foremost man on the faculty. Toward the end of the period it was recognized not only at Yale but in the educational world generally that he was one of the greatest teachers America had produced. Among economists he stood in the first rank, if not at the head of the list. From the standpoint of the general public — if we may judge from newspaper attention and the demands that came to him for articles and public addresses — Sumner was the best-known university professor in the United States. How do these judgments stand the test of time? After these years, what are we to say of Sum-

ner's place in the educational and economic world?

Fortunately there has recently appeared a biography in which we have an authoritative account of the man and his work.[1] The fact that such a book has been written after this lapse of time carries a certain amount of conviction as to the place which the Yale economist is likely to hold in the estimate of thoughtful men. An even more significant fact is the publication of Sumner's papers and addresses from time to time in book form, six volumes of his works having been issued to date.[2]

Professor A. G. Keller, his favorite pupil and successor at Yale, is preparing a book based on copious notes left by Sumner, dealing with the problems of social organization in a systematic way, under the title 'The Science of Society.'

Regarding Sumner from the standpoint of Yale tradition, the first impression one gets is that he did not belong there at all. The contrast between him and members of the faculty like Noah Porter and Timothy Dwight is striking. They were New-Englanders of long descent and ingrained characteristics. He was of English stock, his parents being Lancaster folk, of the working class, who in 1837 migrated to America and settled in Paterson, New Jersey. Porter and Dwight were metaphysical and warmly idealistic. Sumner was scientific and coldly practical. They were Congregationalists; he was an Episcopalian. The fact that all three happened to be clergymen does not materially affect the contrast. The eighties at Yale may be de-

[1] Harris E. Starr: *William Graham Sumner.*

[2] *Earth's Hunger and Other Essays; What Social Classes Owe to Each Other; The Challenge of Fact and Other Essays; The Forgotten Man and Other Essays; War and Other Essays: Discipline and Other Essays.*

scribed as the period which saw the blending of personalities and points of view of theologically minded New-Englanders like Porter and Dwight and the new generation of teachers like Sumner, to whom science was all in all.

Sumner first came into prominence through his attacks upon inflation and protectionism. A disciple of the Manchester School of Free Trade, he took up the cudgels against the fiscal policies which dominated Government circles in the period following the Civil War. Along with David A. Wells and Arthur Latham Perry he was recognized as the brains of the anti-protection movement. This brought down upon his head the wrath of the manufacturers and of the Republican press. Articles were written in the 'New York Tribune' and other papers protesting against his holding a professorship at Yale and demanding his resignation. Prominent Yale alumni joined in these attacks. It was claimed that Sumner was 'corrupting the students.' In view of the fact that not long after these attacks Sumner came to be recognized as one of the greatest assets of Yale University, it is well to recall that in the eighties many were for putting him out. Professor William Lyon Phelps, in reviewing Sumner's career, remarks: 'This fear that undergraduates will be corrupted by heterodox political opinion is still common; whereas the real danger — if there be any — is allowing students to graduate with no knowledge of any opinion other than what is theologically and politically orthodox.' [1] As a matter of fact we know that after listening to Sumner eagerly, three quarters of

[1] Article in *The Literary Digest International Book Review*, 1925, pp. 661–63.

his pupils upon graduation would go out and vote the Republican ticket.

Sumner never changed his views on protection. To him the tariff was a tax and nothing else; its assurances were false, its dependence was upon magic and quackery, it made for favoritism and graft, it was a political and economic evil of the first order. Being an extreme advocate of 'laissez-faire,' Sumner opposed every form of what he called 'the meddling of the State in private affairs.' He had no fear of trusts or other aggregations of capital. Measures like the Interstate Commerce Law and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act were anathema. Professor Phelps, who confesses to no interest in economics while a student, but who elected everything that Sumner taught, just because Sumner taught it, gives in the article referred to above, the following account of a debate in the professor's classroom:

'Professor, don't you believe in any government aid to industries?'

'No! it's root, hog, or die.'

'Yes, but hasn't the hog got a right to root?'

'There are no rights. The world owes nobody a living.'

'You believe then, professor, in only one system, the contract-competitive system?'

'That's the only sound economic system. All others are fallacies.'

'Well, suppose some professor of political economy came along and took your job away from you. Wouldn't you be sore?'

'Any other professor is welcome to try. If he gets my job it is my fault. My business is to teach the subject so well that no one can take the job away from me.'

If Professor Sumner antagonized business interests

by his free-trade views, he gave abundant compensation through his advocacy of the so-called capitalistic system as opposed to the claims of socialism. His marshaling of the arguments against the newer views in his treatise 'The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over' has been characterized as 'the most trenchant statement of the case ever published — a simply merciless riddling of the loose dogmatic claims of those who would reconstruct the industrial system on the principles of democracy conceived of in the terms of socialism.' He was as thorough-going an individualist as our age has produced.

Professor Sumner had a penchant for cold facts. The colder they were the better he liked them. Anything that savored of loose thinking, haziness, pretense, sentimentality, hypocrisy, or cant, evoked his wrathful denunciation. He stood for the scientific method relentlessly pursued in every realm. Sociology is as truly a science as geology, physics, or astronomy; its laws are constant and unalterable. 'Man is a piece of the earth.'[1] He had no patience with the 'Parlor Bolshevist' of his day. Whatever his theme he usually managed to point out that the most complex and difficult subject which we now have to study is 'the constitution of human society, the forces which operate it, the laws by which they act.'

During the eighties, Professor Sumner devoted himself mainly to the problems of economics; it was later that he entered the field of sociology in a desire to explore the foundations of human society. Yet the eighties saw the production of his most famous papers and addresses. His bibliography of the period lists one

[1] Starr: *William Graham Sumner*, p. 400.

hundred and thirty-two titles. Among these we note particularly, 'The Forgotten Man,' 'Shall Americans Own Ships?' 'Andrew Jackson as a Public Man,' 'What Social Classes Owe to Each Other,' 'The Ism which Teaches that Waste Makes Wealth.'

'The Forgotten Man' is easily his most famous work. The 'New York World,' in a recent editorial, said of this treatise, 'Nearly forty years ago Professor William G. Sumner of Yale prepared a lecture entitled "The Forgotten Man." That lecture has since taken its place among the classic contributions to political economy. "The Forgotten Man" was never more timely than to-day.' The 'Boston Herald' characterizes 'The Forgotten Man' as 'one of the unforgettable things in the writings of American economists.' The man for whom Sumner pleads with such eloquence is the hard-working, frugal, honest, home-loving, self-respecting citizen, who never becomes rich, never is a pauper, never gets his name in the paper except when he marries or dies, who is never considered by politicians or reformers, but who pays the bills caused by the legislation they lie awake nights to construct. 'The State cannot get a cent from any man without taking it from some other man and this latter must be a man who has produced and saved it.' If any have felt that Professor Sumner was devoid of the feelings of humanity, let them consider that he worshiped one great hero, and that was the forgotten man.

Professor Phelps pays tribute to Sumner's remarkable powers as a teacher. 'Had he written no books, he would still have left an indelible impression on generations of college students. Whatever the subject he

taught, it was nicknamed "Sumnerology," because he taught it with such vigor and concealed none of his opinions from the student.' Professor Phelps narrates how he had the hardihood to elect Sumner's course on banking, and tells the following stories at his own expense:

One day he put a bank statement on the board, and said, 'Phelps' — he never mistered us, and the name was like a pistol-shot — 'what is your opinion of the condition of that bank?' I said, 'That bank appears to me to be in a flourishing condition.' 'Indeed! it may appear so to you, but the bank closed its doors that very day.' (Laughter.)

On another occasion, he wrote out on the blackboard a long and complicated financial statement. It took him twenty minutes. My mind went afield; I was thinking dreamily of something else, when suddenly he looked up and said, 'Every man who understands these figures will raise his hand.' Every one in the room — the hypocrites! — raised his hand except me. He barked, 'Phelps, what is there about this you don't understand?' 'Professor, at that moment I was thinking of something else.' 'Ah,' he said, 'I will go through it again.' He did. It took him twenty minutes. He looked around occasionally to see if I was watching. I was. I was also uncomfortable. At the last, he said, '*Now* do you understand?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Phelps,' he said slowly and impressively, 'any time you will do me the supreme honor of giving me your attention, I think I can make even *you* understand.' (Awed silence.)[1]

Moses Coit Tyler revisited Sumner's classroom in 1890, and jotted down this impression in his diary: 'At half-past eight lecture by Professor W. G. Sumner — or, rather, a class exercise. Subject: "The American iron market in relation to the tariff"; first fifteen minutes class wrote in silence; papers were taken up,

[1] *International Book Review*, 1925, p. 661.

then questions fired upon him by the class. His way of dealing with them was masterly. I never witnessed more admirable teaching. All tell me that he wields an unrivaled influence over the students. Can well believe it. I waited to speak with him. His manner to me was formal, cold . . .' [1]

Of Sumner's greatness as a teacher there can be no doubt. He had the divine gift. That crowded lecture-room on the second floor of Osborn Hall, where for so many years the students of Yale hung upon his words and endured the lashings of his tongue, tells the story of his extraordinary power. Although his standards of scholarship were high and the discipline of the class-room of the most exacting order, he managed to secure both the admiration and affection of his pupils. He was universally known as 'Billy Sumner.' What impressed them most was his brilliance as a scholar, his absolute possession of the facts in any case, his pungency, his frankness, his transparent honesty as a thinker and man. The fact that his views were generally of the unorthodox sort did not lessen their esteem. They accepted his dogmatism as coming from one who knew. The climax of admiration was reached when a favorite pupil remarked, 'Sumner is the greatest teacher since Abelard.'

Sumner was somewhat lacking in the social amenities and graces. He was brusque, and at times brutal, in conversation. People's feelings appeared to be no concern of his. He was for the truth nakedly put. He was a superb fighter but he always 'fought fair.' If on any point he was proved to be wrong he was quick to acknowledge the fact and to reverse his opinion. With

[1] Stokes: *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men*, vol. 1, p. 361.

all his originality and aggressiveness he was essentially modest, and there was a vein of self-sacrifice running through his nature. The story of how he gave up smoking sheds a flood of light upon the character of the man. All his life he had been an inveterate smoker, consuming as many as twenty cigars a day. One day the domestic bills for the month were laid upon his desk, alongside of the account of his tobacconist. To his amazement he discovered that he was spending as much for his cigars as for groceries for the entire family. 'And I a teacher of political economy!' he exclaimed to himself. From that moment no tobacco ever touched his lips.

As to Sumner's permanent place as a sociologist and political economist, we must leave the judgment to those who are competent to speak. The world has not moved in his direction. With his extreme individualism and his championship of the contract-competitive system, he would be a lonely man in our present-day world of Government regulation, and coöperative industry. He allowed too little play for the intellectual, moral, and spiritual forces that arise from free human personality. If an economist is to be judged solely with reference to the application of his teachings to practical affairs, Sumner will not stand to-day as high as he did in the eighties and the succeeding decade. If he is to be rated on the score of certain fundamental principles he discovered and proclaimed, as a challenger of unscientific and often selfish opinion, and as giving new impetus to social science, his place near the top is secure. Sumner himself once pointed out that Adam Smith in his writings made not less than eighty mistakes. Professor T. H. Giddings, of Columbia, speaks

of Professor Sumner 'as perhaps the most consistently sociological, if not the greatest of sociologists.' Alongside of this tribute we may appropriately print a remark of Professor George F. Swain, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who said, 'If I were God, I would require every college student to read Professor Sumner's essays and commit the leading ones by heart before he was allowed to graduate.'

Brown

President Ezekiel G. Robinson

President Robinson was a vigorous survival of the older type of college executive that in the eighties was recognized as already belonging to the past. He came to Brown in 1872 from Rochester Theological Seminary, of which he had been president; he resigned in 1889 at the age of seventy-five, after seventeen years of service.

Notwithstanding his age and the theological and speculative atmosphere in which he had lived, Dr. Robinson was a man of great force, and in practical affairs had the outlook of a modern. Among the reforms which head vocated and carried out were the broadening of the curriculum and the introduction of an elective system, the erection of new and greatly needed buildings, the raising of the standard of scholarship, and the organization of a movement for a gymnasium and physical education which bore fruit at the beginning of the next administration.

Professor Bronson, in his history of Brown University, says of him:

'His impatient energy spoke out through his prominent features and penetrating eye, his rapid stride,

and his speech and manner, brusque at times to the verge of rudeness.'

President Faunce, who was a member of the Class of '80, writes:

'Curiously enough, our awful reverence for Dr. Robinson was not lessened by his frequent sprinting across the campus in the evening to catch unwary offenders. There was something majestic, even Olympian, in the long stride and flying silvery hair when seen in the moonlight; and in his tight grasp on a sophomore's coat-collar there was the relentless vigor of sixty years of Calvinism.' [1]

'As a speaker,' says President Faunce, 'he was logic on fire. He thought on his feet, not repeating sentences carefully conned in the study, but actually going through the thought process in the presence of his audience, and we had the same pleasure in hearing as in watching a powerful engine in resistless and serene movement . . . Probably no man in this country possessed a finer extemporaneous English style. Like his own body it was flexible and muscular, the perfect vehicle of this burning thought. He was absolutely simple and lucid. One might disagree: he could not misunderstand.

'What scorn he felt for idlers and aimless, boneless men!' continues President Faunce. 'How caustic could he be in his allusions to weak-kneed, sentimental lachrymose piety, copious in profession but poor in deed! How he took some men by the mental coat-collar and shook them into self-realization! How he taught some to stop shambling and lounging and to stand erect in God's world!'

[1] *Memories of Brown.*

Students in his classrooms treasured the aphorisms that flew like sparks when the doctor was deeply interested or excited. Here are a few of them that have been preserved:

'Deity need not send a policeman after the sinner: the sinner carries the policeman inside.'

'A man's principles and emotions come out and sit on his features.'

'An idea is quite prevalent that moral law is a sort of scarecrow which Deity has set up in the cornfields of this world, and which he will take down whenever he thinks it safe to do so.' [1]

'Man is the tangential point between the world of matter and the world of spirit.'

'Form power to judge: better reach a wrong conclusion than none.'

'To be vicious is to carry a penalty in your own bosom.'

'You have brained conscience with one blow when you have decided that you are governed by necessity.' [2]

Yet this intellectual electric battery had a human side, though he took pains to conceal it. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, a Providence minister, tells of a conversation he had with a member of a graduating class at the close of one of Dr. Robinson's baccalaureate sermons:

'"That was a great appeal," I said.

'"Yes," was the answer, "and I tell you, sir, there is not a member of the class who does not love him."

'"Has anybody told him that?"

'"Oh, no, not one of us would dare to tell him."

[1] W. C. Bronson: *History of Brown University.*
[2] *Memories of Brown.*

'"Then I will. He ought to know."

'I told him, as we walked up the hill together. The tears in his eyes, the quiver in his voice, the pleased look that played a moment over his weary, hungry face revealed his deep pleasure in the tidings I had brought. He had a great heart, though its expression had been diligently suppressed.'

ALBERT HARKNESS

One of the best-known teachers that Brown University ever had upon her faculty was Albert Harkness, classical scholar and author of Latin and Greek textbooks familiar to every high-school boy of the last generation. It is rather singular that, though his fame rests largely upon his Latin Grammar and Latin texts, he was, during the greater part of his life — and during the time that he wrote them — a teacher not of Latin but of Greek. He was a professor at Brown for thirty-seven years, from 1855 to 1892, was one of the founders of the American Philological Association and also of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and took a prominent part in the counsels of all.

Professor Harkness was a teacher of the older type — formal, exact, accurate. In one of his reports he said, 'When the alternative is between reading a small amount critically and hurrying over a large amount superficially, I think the true educator cannot long hesitate.' In the classroom he had the poise and dignity which we have come to associate with the Greeks in literature and art. He was never irritated.

Professor Bronson says of him, 'His joy in knowing and stating the exact truth about the lost digamma or the original cases was really one with that of a palæon-

tologist in restoring the skeleton of a dinosaur; his insistence upon the shades of meaning conveyed by μέν and δέ had the precision of mathematics and brought even to the thoughtless undergraduate some realization that a language, as well as a theodolite, might be an instrument of extremely nice adjustment.

'His uniformly pleasant relations with his pupils were continued in after years, notably at his receptions to the alumni in his house and garden on Prospect Street, which became one of the most delightful features of commencement week His old age was one such that a Greek might have envied — spent with family and friends around him, and full of peaceful labor done in health and mental clarity to the very end.'[1]

If the class became turbulent he calmed them mildly but effectually. A former pupil reports that on one such occasion he raised his right hand and exclaimed with a smile, 'Gentlemen, *gentlemen!* I am afraid we are doing ourselves injustice.'[2]

The most severe rebuke that he perhaps ever administered, and one which well illustrates the formality and dignity of the old-time college professor, was when, after Professor Harkness had explained a passage in the text, a rather opinionated youngster said, 'I don't agree with you, professor. I think it means this,' — continuing with an explanation of his own.

The professor looked at him attentively for a moment and then replied, 'You may be right. I may not know Greek, but the corporation pays me to teach it. I have been teaching it for thirty years or more and I supposed I knew something about it. It will be neces-

[1] W. C. Bronson: *History of Brown University.*
[2] *Memories of Brown.*

sary for you to see the president before you can proceed in this class.' The student humbly and noiselessly made his way to the door.[1]

JOHN L. LINCOLN

Closely associated with Professor Harkness, antedating him by five years in age and by ten years or more in the beginning of his service at Brown, was John L. Lincoln, Professor of Latin. For more than thirty-five years these two men — 'The Great Twin Brethren' as they were sometimes called — carried on their shoulders the responsibility of the classical work of the university. They were diametrically opposite in their natures, yet complementary. Professor Lincoln supplied the warm, human element which in his colleague, if it existed, was not apparent.

Professor Lincoln had a ready wit and was fond of a joke. On one occasion in his classroom a careless student rose to translate the familiar ode of Horace in which the poet congratulates himself on finishing one of his books and begins by saying, '*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*' ('I have raised a monument more lasting than brass'). The student mistook the *egi* of *exegi* for a part of the verb *edo*, 'to eat,' and began, 'I have eaten a monument harder than brass.' Professor Lincoln interrupted him at this point, saying, 'That will do. You may sit down and digest it.'

Quoting again from Professor Bronson's 'History of Brown': 'There was in [Professor Lincoln] to the end, something of the boy, though mellowed and chastened by study and time — and hence a rare kind of intellectual comradeship between him and his pupils was

[1] *Memories of Brown.*

always possible. His published essays, although they reveal him as a thoughtful interpreter of literature, cannot show what was most delightful and stimulating in the living teacher — the high response to noble sentiment, the deep content with the simple, primary values of life, the exquisite sensitiveness to felicities of word and phrase, the boyish glee over some bit of fun or happy fancy. Choice Latin was to him like a draught of old Falernian.'

Said President Faunce, who was a student under him in the late seventies: 'How he beamed and glowed over a happy translation. With what contagious gladness he expounded some *callida junctura* in Tacitus! How he radiated his own joy in the "Ars Poetica"! How he exploded over some venerable joke in Terence, as if it were the latest cartoon in "Punch"! The Latin a dead language? No one ever said that who sat under "Johnny Link" in 23 University Hall.'

ALPHEUS S. PACKARD

One of Brown's most distinguished scholars was Alpheus S. Packard, Professor of Zoölogy for more than a quarter of a century — from 1878 until the time of his death in 1905. He was a graduate of Bowdoin in the class of 1861 and studied under Agassiz at the Lawrence Scientific School. In the early seventies he was State entomologist of Massachusetts and at the time that he was called to the professorship at Brown he was director of the Peabody Academy of Sciences at Salem.

Professor Packard achieved fame as a scholar and investigator rather than as a teacher. In his classroom there was little discipline. He depended largely upon his students to work out their own salvation — that

Above: PRESIDENT E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS ('BENNIE'), BROWN (CLASS ALBUM, 1888); PROF. JOHN LARKIN LINCOLN ('JOHNNY LINK'), BROWN

Below: PROF. A. E. DOLBEAR ('DOLLY'), TUFTS; PROF. C. T. WINCHESTER ('WINCH'), WESLEYAN

was the Agassiz method — but the students at Brown in the eighties and nineties were little more than boys, and many of them took advantage of him.

As a scientist Professor Packard's chief work was the classification and anatomy of insects and crustaceans. He published some three hundred and fifty monographs in entomology alone, and was the author of a textbook on zoölogy that has made his name familiar to a generation of high-school and college students. He also wrote, 'A Guide to the Study of Insects,' 'A Naturalist on the Labrador Coast,' and 'The Mammoth Cave and its Inhabitants,' and was for twenty years editor-in-chief of the 'American Naturalist.'

Though honors were heaped upon him, both here and abroad, he retained to the end of his life that simplicity and modesty which were characteristic of him. One of his colleagues has said of him, 'His spirit was as that of a little child.'

PRESIDENT E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS

When Dr. Robinson resigned the presidency of Brown in 1889, only one man was seriously considered as his successor. It was E. Benjamin Andrews, who had been Professor of History and Political Economy in the university from 1883 to 1888 and who was then occupying the chair of Political Economy and Finance at Cornell.

At the alumni dinner after commencement in '89, and following the announcement of President Robinson's resignation, one of the speakers mentioned the name of Professor Andrews as the choice of the alumni. An eye-witness describes the scene that followed:

'All the alumni present sprang to their feet; some

even stood upon the tables, sending their hats high up in the air. Dishes fell to the floor and broke in pieces, cheer after cheer continued, and it was with great difficulty that President Robinson was able to maintain order long enough to sing the closing hymn.'

President Andrews was a very different personality from the man whom he succeeded. He had the same forcefulness, but instead of wasting it in pyrotechnics he kept it under a control that made it doubly efficient. He had the same high moral sense but with it a tolerance that took away its starkness. He was a modern of the moderns; in the prime of life, strong, fearless, large-hearted, robust in mind as in body, intensely human, it is not strange that he became the popular idol of the students. He had been an officer in a Connecticut artillery regiment during the Civil War, and was wounded at the siege of Petersburg. Something of the soldierly element remained in him and was always characteristic of him.

In the classroom he was inimitable. One of his students in '86–'87 repeats a story which he told to the class to illustrate over-consumption. 'It reminds me,' said Dr. Andrews, 'of a colored boy who used to work for me in the army. He offered to bet that he could eat oysters faster than I could open them. I took the bet. Then I seized the chisel and opened an oyster. He gulped it down in a flash. I stopped and looked at him while he waited for more. 'Well,' said I, 'why don't you go ahead?"'

His interest in sports was a bond of sympathy between him and the students. 'In the fall, when the men were engaged in football practice, he was often seen on the side-lines. He knew every player by his

first name or his nickname. When the new Lyman Gymnasium was built many a lazy student was put to shame by the sight of "Bennie" in gymnasium suit working away with pulley weights and dumb-bells.'[1] Yet there was that about him which commanded respect — and not only respect but obedience. He could be friendly without losing dignity, and familiar without cheapening himself.

Many stories are told of his generosity. When the college was hard-pressed, it is said that he sometimes turned back part of his meager salary into the general fund; when professors came to him with reports of the special needs of their departments he told them that the necessary money would be forthcoming — and they found later that it had been supplied secretly from his own pocket. When any of the teams or the general athletic fund was short of money, Bennie's name always headed the list of subscriptions.

Occasionally, as the winter season deepened, some poor, self-supporting, ill-clothed student would be called to his office. Thoughts of misdeeds would flash across the visitor's consciousness, but the president would only say, 'Mr. ——, I fear you do not appreciate the rigors of our New England climate. I notice that you are going about without an overcoat. I want to tell you that there are a number of ulsters placed at my disposal for the use of men who are not prepared for our cold winters. I hope you will make use of one.'

Dr. McDonald, from whose sympathetic pen-picture of President Andrews, in 'Memories of Brown' we have already quoted, concludes his appreciation with these words:

[1] Dr. Wm. McDonald in *Memories of Brown.*

On the chapel steps that last afternoon of our college course, as we gathered to sing our songs once more, there was more of sadness than of joy in our singing, for who was there but felt some pain that the parting of the ways had been reached so soon? But if the idle ones who tarried to listen to those old songs could have followed the strained, far-away look visible upon so many of the seniors' faces they might have discerned arising through the mist of parting tears a vision — the image of a man — treading the old walks, with squared shoulders and hands clasped behind his back, clad in a gray frock coat, wearing a light colored beaver hat over a grave face whose eye and mouth, once seen, could never be forgotten — a face indicative perhaps above all else of a man of sorrows, but one in which grief had molded sweetness of expression and chiseled lines of bravery and determination. Leaving Brown caused sadness; leaving Bennie brought pain.

CHAPTER V

REPRESENTATIVE TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, Wesleyan, and Tufts

PRESIDENT SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT

The Dartmouth of the eighties fell within the administration of President Samuel Colcord Bartlett — which covered the fifteen years from 1877 to 1892. The early half of his reign was somewhat stormy. Soon after assuming the presidency he antagonized the faculty of the Chandler Scientific School and to a certain extent that of the college — the former by taking away something of their independence and the latter by curtailing the revenue which was obtained for teaching extra classes in the Chandler School. His plan was to make the Chandler School depend upon its own faculty and resources. However desirable this may have been, the manner of approach was unfortunate. Both of the faculties resented his attitude and he was thus, at the start, placed in opposition to those whose support would have meant much to him.[1]

Having taken a stand, he was not the man to recede or to compromise. Opposition only strengthened his purposes. He gained the point for which he strove, but at too great a cost. The hostile spirit was reflected in his relations with the students. A feeling of unrest and rebellion began to appear throughout the college — manifesting itself in riotous student demonstrations.

At this point the president further antagonized the

[1] J. K. Lord: *History of Dartmouth College, 1815–1909.*

academic faculty by his recommendation of a candidate to fill the chair of Greek made vacant by the death of Professor Proctor. It was the feeling of most of the members of the faculty that Associate Professor John H. Wright, who had been filling the chair *ad interim*, should be given the position. President Bartlett did not favor his candidacy and without consulting the faculty, as had been the practice of former presidents under similar circumstances, he recommended to the trustees another candidate who, learning of the feeling of the faculty, wisely withdrew.

In the spring of 1881 the crisis was reached when the New York alumni petitioned the trustees to appoint a committee to investigate the situation, 'in order that errors of management, if there are any, may be corrected, or that the present executive may be vindicated and strengthened.' The faculty, feeling that the publicity arising from such an investigation could only harm the college, and confident that the only real remedy lay in the resignation of President Bartlett, sent to the trustees a petition signed by fifteen of the twenty-two resident members, asking that his resignation should be requested. The president met the issue with characteristic vigor by demanding that definite charges be filed and that the charges be investigated immediately. The trustees sent a committee to Hanover, the New York alumni defined and accentuated their charges, sending a lawyer to present their case, and the investigation assumed somewhat of the nature of a trial. The president made a gallant fight and won; the faculty accepted the situation, and peace was restored.

Dr. Bartlett was a man of great intellectual power, a theologian of the old school, a Puritan with all of the

force and some of the failings of the Puritan character. Vigor is the word which best expresses him. He was a tireless executive, immersing himself unreservedly in the many duties that devolved upon him. He was not only president, but also dean, financial agent, director of admissions, teacher, and college policeman. In those days the last-named office required much of his attention, and he attended to it with grim determination. He felt that what the college needed was discipline, and he did not hesitate to apply it, but he was not a diplomatist in his methods, and he generally succeeded in arousing opposition rather than in quelling it. The students of his time will recall the characteristic toss and swing of his head when remonstrating with them. It spoke volumes for his attitude toward those who had opposed his will.

Later classes remember President Bartlett as a man who in old age retained great force of character, who commanded their respect, and often won their affection. After his retirement in 1892 he remained in Hanover, still holding a place on the faculty and loyally supporting the new administration of President Tucker.

THE DARTMOUTH FACULTY

The decade of the eighties saw the passing of two figures who had occupied a long and honorable connection with the college. Professors Edwin D. Sanborn (known in student parlance as 'Bully' Sanborn) and Daniel J. Noyes were classmates at Dartmouth in 1832. Sanborn became a tutor in 1835, and with the exception of the four years, 1859–1863, when he was president of Washington University, St. Louis, he devoted his talents to the service of Dartmouth con-

tinuously until 1881, when, broken in health, he tendered his resignation and was relegated in the catalogue to the dreaded designation *emeritus*. Professor Noyes, who in his earlier years had been pastor of a church in Concord, New Hampshire, was called to the college in 1849 as 'professor of theology,' and twenty years later was transferred to the chair of Intellectual Philosophy. He, too, weighed down with bodily ills, resigned in the early eighties — two years later than Professor Sanborn — and became in 1883 an *emeritus*. These two men, so long associated in their work, died during the same year, 1885, and within a few weeks of each other.

Dr. Sanborn had a striking personality. Large, forceful, enthusiastic, impulsive, he exercised a profound influence on the students and had a leading voice in the counsels of the faculty. As Professor of English Literature he showed rare discrimination, fine literary taste, and the ability to impart his judgments in a way that was not only singularly forceful, but also most entertaining. He will always be remembered as one of Dartmouth's great teachers.

The outstanding members of the Dartmouth faculty of the eighties, aside from the president, were probably Professors Parker and Lord of the Latin department, Hardy, head of the Department of Mathematics, and Richardson, who succeeded Sanborn as Professor of English Literature. These four will be considered later and more intimately.

Professor John H. Wright of the class of '73, who has been mentioned in connection with President Bartlett's troubles, and who served as secretary of the faculty as well as Associate Professor of Greek during

the early eighties, was a man of fine scholarship, great modesty, and kindliness, having the respect of his students, although few of them ever succeeded in becoming intimate with him. He will be remembered by Dartmouth classes of that time as a young man of scholarly habits, somewhat nervous, absorbed in his work, rather near-sighted, with blond hair and mustache, always gentlemanly, always courteous. In 1886 he received a call to Johns Hopkins University as Professor of Classical Philology and after a most successful year in that institution became Professor of Greek in Harvard University. He developed into one of the leading classical scholars of America.

Professor Edwin J. Bartlett, a son of President Bartlett, was elected to the chair of Chemistry and began his work in the autumn of 1879. In his charming little book entitled 'Dartmouth Reminiscences,' he gives an illuminating account of the difficulties which confronted him. There was no laboratory and scarcely any equipment. With some effort he succeeded in obtaining the use of half of a lecture-room in Culver Hall, a building belonging to the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, and by constructing a board partition, which secured partial privacy but admitted every sound from the other side of it, he began to train his students in modern methods of chemical investigation. He grew constantly in popularity with the students, and during the years of his active teaching as well as his later residence among them, he has made a warm place for himself in the hearts of both town and college. His ready wit, his friendliness, as well as his thorough knowledge of his subject were factors in winning both affection and respect.

Professor Charles F. Emerson joined the teaching force of the college in 1868 as a tutor, and later succeeded Professor Young, the eminent astronomer, who afterward went to Princeton, as Appleton Professor of Natural Philosophy. He was familiarly known as 'Chuck' and was perhaps more successful as an investigator than as a teacher.

Professor Charles H. Hitchcock of the geological department was a scholar and investigator to whom the college owes much. His geological surveys of New Hampshire and Vermont and large relief model of these States, together with some thirty-five hundred specimens of rocks, enriched the college museum and were of great value to the cause of geological science.

Mention should be made also of one who in the early eighties was known as 'Tute' Worthen — Professor Hardy's assistant and later successor in the Department of Mathematics. He came to the college as instructor in gymnastics and until 1892 continued to conduct the gymnastic exercises of the two lower classes. His sturdy frame and his vigorous way of doing things will long be remembered by students who were under him. Personally he was distinguished by the most luxuriant mustache and beard that man ever wore. The disappearance of his beard was always one of the first signs of spring and its reappearance betokened the approach of winter, but the mustache — long, full and dark brown — was an adornment which remained the year round. He was a good teacher and kind to those who behaved themselves.

Professor Louis Pollens came to the college in 1877 as instructor in French and a few years later became professor of French and German as well as college li-

brarian. His greatest service was the building-up of the library, which, at the time that he took charge of it, was of a most primitive sort, but which, in 1886, when he gave up the librarianship to devote himself entirely to teaching, had become a usable and worthy adjunct to the college.

HENRY E. PARKER

One of the delightful memories which every Dartmouth man of the eighties cherishes is that of Professor Parker. Gentle, kindly, courteous, refined, he was a benign influence in a world where there was too little of the finer elements of life. If a boy got into trouble and needed a friend at court, it was to Professor Parker that he generally went, and if the offense was not outrageous — and sometimes even if it was — the kind-hearted senior professor of the Latin Language and Literature somehow found a way to ease the punishment. One of his former students says of him, 'He looked on men in the light of their great possibilities, and refused to judge by the fault or weakness of an hour.'

As a teacher he impressed his students not so much by the profundity of his scholarship — though he was a true and accurate scholar — as by his appreciation of the finer values of thought and expression in the Latin classics which he taught, and his ability to make his students see them. That was no small accomplishment in the eighties, with boys who had no background of culture.

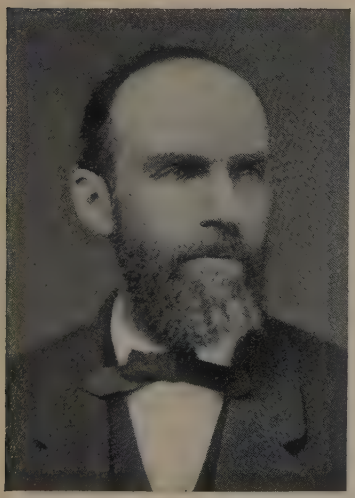
Professor Parker disliked rudeness of any sort, and it is only in recent years that we, looking back, are able to realize how his soul must have been tried by the college atmosphere in which he lived. Once in the early

eighties he entered the post-office as a noisy crowd of students were reading the bulletins of a baseball game that the nine was playing with another college in a distant town. The game had gone against the Dartmouth team, and the air was full of profanity. 'What is the matter?' asked Professor Parker. 'The nine is beaten,' replied one. The professor looked anxiously at the bulletin, and an expression of disappointment overspread his face. 'It may be so. It may be so,' he said slowly, 'but don't swear so, gentlemen — don't swear so.' The incident was in every way characteristic of him.

Professor Parker closed his career as he had begun it, in an effort to be of service to others. During the disastrous fire that occurred on Lebanon Street in 1893 — and that narrowly missed destroying all the central portion of the village — he went into a burning house to assist the occupants in saving some of their family effects. As he came out, part of a chimney fell upon him, causing an injury from which he never recovered. It was the ending of a career that had brought honor to the college and that had instilled into the lives of hundreds of Dartmouth men an influence that they would not willingly forego.

JOHN KING LORD

Professor Parker's associate and successor in the Latin department at Dartmouth was Professor John King Lord. In manner he was the antithesis of his older colleague. Brusque, virile, confident, he commanded respect, and with that respect was mingled a measure of wholesome fear. He was the Nemesis of evil-doers. When he sat upon the platform or patroled



Above: PROF. JOHN K. LORD ('JOHNNY LORD'), DARTMOUTH; PROF. ARTHUR SHERBURNE HARDY, DARTMOUTH

Below: PROF. ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY ('PERI'), WILLIAMS; PRESIDENT FRANKLIN CARTER, WILLIAMS

the aisles during an examination, woe to all cribbers! He knew their tricks and there was no deceiving him.

Professor Lord was a scholar of rare breadth and thoroughness, and a teacher who demanded of every student the best that was in him. A hard drill-master, he was at the same time appreciative of the men who really tried. He belonged peculiarly to Dartmouth by birth, education, and temperament. A nephew of Dr. John Lord, a former president of the college, born in Hanover, graduated in the Class of 1868, he inherited the Dartmouth tradition and showed in his character the rugged strength which has always been a characteristic of this college of the New Hampshire hills.

Of all the members of the Dartmouth faculty of the eighties perhaps none stands out with greater distinctness in the memories of men of that decade than 'Johnny Lord,' as he was called in student parlance. With his black hair, his dark brown 'mutton-chop' whiskers, his shell-rimmed eyeglasses, his nervous habit of chewing his mustache, his finality in flunking the student who was trying to bluff his way through a recitation — it all comes back as one of those memories that grow brighter in the retrospect. Surely it was a wholesome training, and the thanks of many a Dartmouth man go back to the presiding genius of the old South Latin Room for the lessons that he there received.

Arthur Sherburne Hardy

The most distinguished member of the Dartmouth faculty of the eighties was probably Arthur Sherburne Hardy, head of the Department of Mathematics. Distinguished, as used here, does not mean merely famous, though later he acquired fame. It refers, rather, to a

certain superiority in manner, breeding, and culture that set him apart. He was a gentleman in the highest sense — brilliant, handsome, polished, aristocratic not by intention but by necessity, because he was born so. In that rude age he was genuinely an apostle of light; he was a breath from the modern world. A son of the Honorable Alpheus Hardy, a wealthy citizen of Boston and a prominent trustee of Amherst College, he grew up in a home where scholarship was held in high esteem and where culture was in the very air about him. Educated at West Point, he served as an officer in the army long enough to give him the soldierly bearing that fitted so well his temperament and character.

Professor Hardy was one of the most popular members of the faculty. None of the students ever succeeded in getting very close to him, but all admired him. He was the beau-ideal of many an awkward country boy who longed to have something of his poise, his taste, and his good breeding. To the favored few who were admitted to his home it seemed a different world. Books, rare family portraits, tasteful decorations, objects of art from abroad, created an atmosphere as different from the college atmosphere outside as Professor Hardy himself was different from most of his associates. His brilliancy and many-sidedness are shown in the fact that within two years he published a scholarly work on pure mathematics — quaternions — and the novel, 'But Yet a Woman,' which became a popular success and opened to him a career as a writer of fiction.

In 1893 he resigned his position at Dartmouth and devoted himself exclusively to literature. He was for two years editor of the 'Cosmopolitan Magazine' and

then entered the diplomatic service, becoming United States minister to Persia, to Greece, Roumania, and Servia, to Switzerland, and finally to Spain. Meanwhile he wrote. Of the dozen or more books that represent his literary accomplishment the best known are perhaps 'The Wind of Destiny,' 'Passe Rose,' 'His Daughter First,' 'Diane and her Friends,' and 'Helen.'

It was a fortunate thing for Dartmouth that Professor Hardy gave her nearly twenty years of his young manhood. Beside his personal influence — which counted for much — and beside his important work as a teacher of mathematics, he prepared and delivered a course of lectures on art which were the first distinctly æsthetic element ever offered to the students of the college. It was the beginning of a new era of taste and culture.

Charles Francis Richardson

One of the most lovable and at the same time most inspiring personalities that Dartmouth has ever had upon her faculty was Professor Charles F. Richardson, head of the Department of English. He came to the college in 1882, when but little more than thirty years of age, and resigned his professorship in 1911, at the age of sixty.

During this time he endeared himself to two generations of Dartmouth men. His genial face and manner and his tall angular frame — which won for him the nickname of 'Clothespin Dick' — or 'Clothespin,' for short (for it is well known that, in college, popularity always demands a nickname), have left their picture on the hearts of nearly thirty classes.

His greatest service was not in the facts that he

taught but in the contagious enthusiasm for the higher things in literature which he succeeded in imparting. He treated his students as his friends and did not forget them when they passed out into the world. Many a graduate, going back to him for advice, found in him a wise counselor and an inspiring guide.

Before coming to Dartmouth as a teacher he had been engaged in editorial work on the 'Independent' and the 'Sunday School Times,' had served as editor of 'Good Literature,' and had published 'A Primer of American Literature,' a volume of poems, and an inspiring essay on 'The Choice of Books.' During his professorship he wrote his monumental 'American Literature' (published in 1887-88 in two large octavo volumes), also 'A Study of English Rhyme.' He might have gained still greater distinction if he had devoted himself entirely to the profession of writing, but he considered the teacher's mission more important than the writer's — and Dartmouth was the gainer by his choice. His conception of the teacher's requirements was well expressed in a public address which he once made:

'But to competence must be added every day of the academic year an unquestionable power to teach. Paraphrasing the biblical sum in addition, the professor must add to investigation knowledge; to knowledge wisdom; and to wisdom the ability to impart it. To begin with, he must cause the student to know facts, but he must both allure him and direct him to arrange those facts in his own mind in such a way as to leave a large residuum of exact learning, in the best sense, with its concomitant of developed character.'

This formula describes accurately his own equipment and the secret of his success.

Amherst

The men on the faculty at Amherst who made the most abiding impression were President Julius H. Seelye, and Professors William S. Tyler, E. P. Crowell, Edward Hitchcock, E. P. Harris, Benjamin K. Emerson, Anson D. Morse, H. Humphrey Neill, John F. Genung, John M. Tyler, and last, and finest of all, Charles E. Garman.

Professor W. S. Tyler, whose history of the college is a standard work and whose edition of the 'Greek Lyric Poets' and 'Theology of the Greek Poets' are known to many students in other institutions, occupied the chair of Greek. He was a veteran, having begun his service in 1836; we knew him as 'Old Ty' and sometimes as *κάι γάρ*, from the importance he gave to these initial words in many Greek sentences. So wonderfully did he impart the spirit of the Hellenes that he seemed as one of the old Greeks himself.

Professor Crowell occupied a similar place in our admiration and affection in the chair of Latin. He was full of his subject and had a zest for teaching. It was recognized as an event when in sophomore or junior year one came into his classes. His Latin textbooks spread his fame beyond Amherst. In 1885, after a period of great suffering, he lost the sight of both eyes, but continued his work with unabated enthusiasm and cheerfulness, preparing for his classes by having the text of the day read to him by one of his daughters. His heroic bearing greatly impressed the student body and awakened a feeling of tenderness which was almost veneration. A characteristic incident comes from the time when Professor Crowell was dean. The duty of the dean in those days related to little more than the re-

cording of absences from church and chapel. One Monday morning a student appeared to explain his absence from church. He said he thought it would be interesting to hear the local preachers and so he had begun with the East Congregational Church. Dean Crowell asked him how he enjoyed the sermon. His reply was that it was of the kind you would expect in a small country church. The dean's next inquiry was, 'Who preached the sermon?' The student said, 'I don't know. I don't remember having seen him before.' 'Curious,' said Crowell, 'I preached that sermon myself.'

The rare personality of Dr. Hitchcock, the beloved 'Old Doc,' is treated elsewhere (Chapter III). Amherst men of that time need no stretch of the imagination to see him as he stood in the old gym (now 'Barrett Hall') with his gray beard, his black skull-cap and his restless energy, keeping time to the music and inspiring the boys to greater vigor and precision in their class exercises and drill by slapping the palm of one hand with the long narrow record book which he held in the other. His shrewd good nature and kindly wit endeared him to every man on the campus.

Professor Harris, as 'a character,' deserves a more extended treatment than space allows. He was universally known as 'Derwall,' from a mumbling sound he emitted at the beginning of his sentences. His department was chemistry and he could analyze a boy's disposition as well as a complex chemical substance. In his thoroughness he was often rough and merciless. Everybody feared him, yet everybody enjoyed him. He was more talked about than any member of the faculty, except possibly 'Old Doc.' Many a profes-

sional man and many a business man to-day are grateful for the drill he received in Derwall's lecture-room and laboratory. The following quotation from a classroom talk, designed to stimulate alertness in a recitation, reveals the man: 'Give some indication of a mind, y'u know. More haste, y'u know. Don't want you to fuddle 'round. Left to yourselves y'd go to ruin. Don't know but y'u will anyhow. Judgment's at hand.'

Professor Emerson has the reputation of having put more men into geology as a profession than any living teacher. At a convention of geologists some years ago it was remarked that he found himself surrounded by his former pupils. One of the writers, although mineralogy and geology had nothing to do with the calling he had chosen, and in spite of the fact that much of the teaching in the 'Octagon,' where 'Emmy' held forth, was beyond his comprehension, yet elected every course offered by this prince of teachers. No greater pleasure or honor came to him during college days than to be invited to accompany 'Emmy' on certain of his trips into the Berkshires or to some distant point where he was studying geological structure in connection with a State map upon which he was engaged. As a result of such experiences the collecting of minerals became a source of lifelong, inexhaustible pleasure, not to mention expense. If these things were done in the green tree, what must have been done in the dry?

The work and influence of Professor Morse grow with the years, as the book entitled 'Parties and Party Leaders,' printed from posthumous manuscripts and edited by Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, so clearly indicates. Almost equally significant is his 'Civilization and the World War.' Quiet, unassuming, unaggressive in the

classroom, Professor Morse did not attract attention like some, and, as we recall it, he never acquired the distinction of a nickname. To the most earnest and studious he became a beacon light, especially in his chosen field of politics, past and present. He was essentially a student, but a student concerned with vital and practical events. Mr. Morrow, in his excellent introduction to the volume to which reference has been made, speaks of Professor Morse as having 'a singularly well-poised mind, with a long reach backward and a hopeful view of the future.' He pays loving tribute as a pupil and friend: 'Only those who knew him, who studied under him, who worked and lived with him, will ever know his great modesty, his broad sympathy, his keen, eager inquiry for facts. To a deep love of books, he joined a rare capacity for working with and understanding those about him, whatever their walk in life. He was essentially a neighborly man.' [1]

With John M. Tyler, son of the Greek professor, came evolution and all sorts of interesting things. He did not reach his full fame in the eighties, but he was very much in evidence on the faculty and in the general life of the institution. Tall, angular, good-natured, daring to smoke cigars, interested in science and religion but most of all in boys, he founded the Department of Biology, secured for it a quick popularity, and made an impression as abiding as the hills and valleys over which with long strides he used to conduct his expeditions in search of bugs. More gradually came his fame as the writer of 'The Coming of Man' and other well-known books.

Amherst will always owe a debt of gratitude to Pro-

[1] Anson D. Morse: *Parties and Party Leaders*, p. xli.

fessor H. Humphrey Neill, familiarly known as 'Poco,' who founded the Department of English, and to Professor John F. Genung, who later gave distinction to that department. Professor Neill is given credit elsewhere (Chapter III, page 51) for his progressive methods and for his introduction of the seminar. He had a fine sense of literary values and succeeded in imparting much of it to his students. His comments were keen but he never lacked appreciation of honest effort or failed to recognize ability. Genung, overshaded for a time by Neill, had not in the early eighties attracted especial attention. It was during the nineties that he came into his own as an interpreter of the deeper spiritual note in literature (especially Biblical literature) and as a writer of rare charm. Such books as 'The Epic of the Inner Life,' and 'The Life Indeed' settled the question of his permanent worth. His wit was like the ripple of a brook down a mossy bank. Selected as the historian of the college for the centennial celebration in 1921, he had hardly more than started upon the task when death closed his career. Among his papers were found the few stray historical notes he had made, enclosed in a folder which bore this highly characteristic bit of title-making —

Miscellaneous Notes

Mostly anecdotic; also chaotic, zymotic,
embryotic, job-lotic, patriotic; exotic,
neurotic, narcotic, idiotic; and Tommyrotic.
Relating more or less intimately, more or less
remotely to the History of Amherst College.

No reference to Genung would be complete without mention of his marvelously beautiful penmanship.

The manuscripts he sent to his publishers and occasionally showed to his friends were done in the Gothic script, each letter separately fashioned, the page presenting the perfection of artistry we associate with the Bible of Gutenberg. No mediæval copyist took more delight in illuminating a breviary or a work of a Latin Father than Professor Genung in giving suitable form to the writings that came from his innermost soul. With him thought, feeling, expression, form, made one harmonious whole. To express beautiful ideas in beautiful words on a beautiful page was the joy of his life.

In the midst of this galaxy, two stars shone with peculiar splendor. They were Seelye and Garman.

PRESIDENT JULIUS H. SEELYE

To most Amherst men of the seventies, Julius H. Seelye was the important man on the faculty. Occupying the chair of Philosophy, and dealing mainly with the senior class, he represented the climax of the course. Graduates of those earlier days were full of stories of the intellectual prowess of 'Jule,' as they loved to call him. In 1874, he had been elected to Congress on an Independent ticket, and great was the stir in Washington, we were given to understand, over the coming of such a mighty intellect. He made one great speech in which he opposed the appointing of the electoral commission to pass upon the question of the legality of the election of President Hayes. True to form, he ended his speech with a quotation from the Latin, '*Summum jus, summa injuria est.*'

It was his habit as a teacher to invite each member of the senior class to take a walk with him on some pleasant afternoon. The invitation would be accepted

Above: PROF. CHARLES E. GARMAN, AMHERST; PRESIDENT JULIUS H. SEELYE ('JULE'), AMHERST

Below: PROF. HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN, BOWDOIN; PRESIDENT WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, BOWDOIN, IN THE EIGHTIES

with fear and trembling, yet with a sense of the privilege to be enjoyed. Many a student carried through life the influence of those personal conversations along the roads or beside the brooks of the Amherst countryside. It added greatly to his influence that he could call every student by his full name and that he took pains to learn the circumstances of his life.

In the eighties 'Jule' had become 'Prexy' and reverence was replaced by awe. We beheld him on a pedestal of power. It was one of the penalties he paid for becoming head of the institution that never again did he enjoy in the same degree the friendly touch with the students which characterized his professorial days. His striking personality lent itself to the sense of aloofness which most of us felt in his presence. In height — he must have been over six feet — he overtopped all the faculty. Erect in carriage, large of frame, of spacious brow, wearing a bushy beard, he strode into chapel like a god.

The faculty was by no means unanimous over his selection as president in 1876, the more progressive element feeling that as a philosopher he would be inclined to slight the sciences. A certain professor, who accepted the evolutionary hypothesis, was particularly fearful on this point. All apprehension disappeared when appointments began to be made. When men like Charles E. Garman and John M. Tyler came upon the faculty, it was recognized that the new Amherst was under way. President Seelye was a man of unusual breadth of view for his times. Saturated with the past, he never had a reactionary moment in his life; he was always leading the past into the better understanding of the present day. His tolerance was exemplified by

his action as chairman of the Board of Visitors of Andover Theological Seminary at the time the leading professors were placed on trial on the ground that they were teaching contrary to the creed of the institution. President Seelye was the only member who voted for the acquittal of all the professors. When his opinion was not suffered to prevail he withdrew from the board.[1]

Professor Garman, his pupil and successor in the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy, selected these words as typical of President Seelye's outlook upon the world of thought: 'Truth and Freedom; Truth coming from whatever direction, Freedom knowing no bounds but those that Truth has set.' Himself a passionate follower of Christ, he was fond of quoting Coleridge's remark: 'When one puts Christianity above the truth, he will soon put Church above Christianity, and himself above the Church.' It is but stating his position in another way to say that President Seelye's system of philosophy centered in the idea of reason as the supreme attribute of man. Reason, inspired by love of truth, marked for him the way of life. Yet he was no rationalist. To him God was the *Eternal Reason* seeking ever to manifest Himself to the human heart and mind.

To President Seelye as an administrator is to be attributed what became known as 'the Amherst system' of instruction, by which free inquiry was encouraged in an atmosphere of friendly, informal discussion between professor and student. So far as the subject allowed, he believed in the give-and-take of open debate rather than in the formal lecture or the traditional

[1] President Tucker, of Dartmouth: *My Generation*, p. 203.

use of a textbook. This was a novel idea at the time and when it had become established it characterized the college as a progressive institution. On this account, as well as upon general grounds, President Seelye looked carefully into the personality and character of his faculty. On this point Professor W. S. Tyler, in his history of the college remarks:

> His first question in regard to a candidate was not, Is he popular, has he a high reputation and a great name, is he already distinguished as a scholar and a teacher? but, What sort of man is he? is he a real, true, and complete man? He must be a Christian, of course, for 'the Christian is the highest style of man.' He must be a scholar, for how can he teach what he does not know? He must be apt to teach, for teaching, not discovery or original research, is the business of a college professor. It is well that he should be a discoverer, with a mind open to receive the truth, all truths whether new or old, although the man who knows the most, and has made the greatest discoveries, is not always the best teacher. But first of all, and above all, he must be a man, and full of a noble ambition to make others men, for to make men is the chief end of a college education.

As is indicated in another chapter, President Seelye's name in the educational world is associated with the institution of student self-government. In this realm he revealed both his strength and his limitations. The students did not rank him high as a disciplinarian. He appeared to us to lack worldly wisdom; in spite of his imposing presence he had the heart of a child and was considered 'easy' almost beyond belief. Especially would he soften if any boy developed what he considered to be symptoms of a contrite heart. An appeal to his religious sensibilities would win acquittal for almost any offender. There once waited upon the presi-

dent a delegation of '83 men to whom had been entrusted the duty of pleading for certain classmates then threatened with severe discipline. The case against them was strong, argued the president, and for a while the situation looked hopeless. The head of the delegation was Williston Walker, who became the great authority on church history and later provost of Yale. Walker was a man of many resources and he had the wit to say: 'Mr. President, if the Lord did not show some undeserved favor to us where would any of us come out at the Judgment Day?' 'Quite right, quite right, Williston,' responded the president. The result was that our classmates stayed with us to the end of the course.

At another time the entire class, having engaged in hazing freshmen, waited upon President Seelye to confess their manifold sins, this by way of clearing certain of their number who had been caught red-handed and were about to be expelled. The confessions were given with great circumstantiality, some of them with high dramatic effect; they occupied two hours of a morning and were carried over into the afternoon; belated groups of penitents even straggled into the president's parlor during the evening. The coup was a complete success. Not only were the captured classmates fully restored, but years afterward the president remarked that nothing in his career had so moved him as the voluntary confessions of the men of '83!

Such was the impression of the time. To-day we are not so certain of the naïveté of his mind. He may have been wiser than we knew. The manner in which he handled the case of discipline in the Class of '84, and which led to the adoption of the scheme of self-govern-

ment, to which allusion is made elsewhere, would seem to indicate a rare discernment of student character and motive. He certainly was able to enjoy the jokes upon himself and his faculty which appeared with considerable regularity in the college publication called 'The Olio.' He probably understood boys better than they could realize at the time and did not take their pranks too seriously.

As a teacher President Seelye did his best work before he became burdened with the details of administration — such details as are carried now by student advisers and deans. His teaching of the history of philosophy as set forth by Schwegler, a work of his own translating, will be recalled by many. Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Locke, Hume, Kant were made to live and glow like real men of contemporary times. His teaching of mental and moral philosophy was less appealing. It was in this connection that Professor Garman quotes, in order to refute, the criticism of a one-time student who characterized Seelye as 'the deepest-down-divingest, the longest-under-stayingest, and the greatest up-mud-bringing-est of all writers of philosophy.'[1] However that may be, more than one of his pupils, passing to the theological school and taking up the study of the philosophical basis of Theism, found himself able to answer a good many of the questions which were asked of the professors by graduates of other institutions. This possibly was more of a tribute to President Seelye's power as a teacher than to his originality as a thinker.

Opinions used to differ as to the value of Prexy's class in catechism. A correspondent speaks of 'the

[1] *Letters, Lectures and Addresses of Charles E. Garman*, p. 443.

quickening process which was accelerated by President Seelye's Monday-morning lessons in the Westminster Catechism, less by the text of that document, portions of which were committed to memory, than by the sapient comments of the president himself.' To others the teaching of a catechism of any kind seemed out of place in a college course, and scant was the attention we gave. Prexy's question-box, however, was a treat for all. We were allowed to hand in questions on any conceivable subject of serious import, from 'How God can be holy while permitting sin in man' to 'Why does Amherst select her own graduates to fill the positions on her faculty?'

To most of us President Seelye was at his best in the pulpit. He had a great 'presence' when standing at the sacred desk, and tremendous indeed was the impression he made. On the opening Sunday of the term, on the Day of Prayer for Colleges, and on Baccalaureate Day, to what levels of inspiration would he rise! 'Gentlemen of the Graduating Class' — when at those solemn words the seniors arose, they listened to his admonitions if never before. At the climax of his sermon, with uplifted hand and gleaming eye and trumpet voice, he seemed like an Isaiah or Hosea returned to earth. Some of us are what we are and where we are today because Julius Seelye had a message for the serious-minded youth of his day and knew how to give it forth. And so, thinking of him primarily as a spiritual seer, a kindler of the heart of youth, we rank him high among the personal forces of the time.

CHARLES EDWARD GARMAN

A dark, quiet, earnest man, sitting behind the

teacher's desk in the philosophy recitation room at Amherst — straight, black hair, smoothly shaven face, spare almost to gauntness — a priestly looking man, with a persuasive voice, a kindly smile, and dark, deep-set eyes that at times glowed and burned and seemed to look into one's very soul — that was Charles E. Garman, Professor of Philosophy at Amherst from 1881 to 1906 — and one of the greatest teachers — perhaps the greatest teacher — of his generation.

It is impossible to express to one who never knew his classroom, the reverence and affection which Garman's pupils felt for him. It was inspired by his unique personality — the blending of a singularly brilliant mind, a deep spiritual nature, and a sympathetic human heart. His power as a dialectician was such that he might have made his class believe almost anything. A classmate [1] says that Garman, while a student at Yale Divinity School, once proved beyond dispute that the bottom of a carriage wheel when it touched the ground went faster than the top. But, as a teacher, he chose to make his students believe only what they could accept after they had themselves weighed the evidence. 'Weighing evidence' was the keynote of his system. His aim was to make his pupils independent thinkers — not to give them a system of philosophy, but to fit them to attack and solve, unaided, such problems as might fall in their way. He kept his own opinions in the background. As Professor John M. Tyler said of him, 'He never dimmed the truth by breathing on it.'

To develop this independence of thought, it was his

[1] Rev. Clarence S. Sargent: Quoted in the Introduction to Garman's *Letters, Lectures and Addresses.*

habit to place before his class a philosophic fallacy stated in its most alluring form and to let them wrestle with it alone, and answer it the following day. The textbook would not serve his purpose, for the textbook stated not only the problem but the solution. Students would turn to the next chapter and find the answer. So the textbook was put aside and a printing press was installed in his own house, a printer was hired at his own expense, and pamphlets were printed and distributed to his class. Some of these pamphlets were Garman's own, some were extracts from the writings of famous scholars, some were restatements in clear English of the cumbrous terminology of the textbook.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall once asked Garman the secret of his success. He replied in a letter which has been often quoted. In it he described his method — but there was nothing marvelous about the method. It was sane and advanced — that was all. The secret of success lay in himself rather than in the method. But his letter is so clear and so inspiring that it makes an appeal to every thoughtful reader.

After describing his pamphlets and his manner of applying philosophical principles concretely, he says:

> The earlier life of the students has been one of imitation and obedience to authority: it corresponds to traditionalism in tribal or national existence. . . . But there comes a time when the young man must assume responsibility for what he does; there must be self-possession and self-direction. . . . Those who decline to follow this unfolding of their nature, and there are very many of them, begin to fossilize. If they are religious they soon become Pharisaical; . . . if they are not religious . . . they become heartless, selfish — many, cynical. There is no hope for a young man at this time if he does not

meet the obligations of life with the spirit of self-reliance, but to do this he must have some confidence in his own judgment and the standards by which he judges. This is the spirit of philosophy. . . .

It is to him a new world. . . . It requires something like the heroism which was demanded of Luther and of the anti-slavery leaders for him to attempt the positions which even in an undergraduate study are forced upon his attention, and he cannot follow authority, there is so much difference of opinion. He is obliged, therefore, to weigh evidence and to let himself down with all his weight upon his own feet. It takes me six months to bring even the better men in the class up to a place where they will really weigh evidence; when their attention is called to it the issue is forced and they are greatly surprised to find the extent to which they have blindly followed authority — they are almost as frightened as some horses are when the blinders are taken off. But when the idea fairly dawns upon them that true scholarship consists not in some mystical quality of genius which ordinary men do not possess, but in simple honesty to one's self in following out the Cartesian Golden Rule, they experience a new birth; they are no longer boys, or slaves, but men. . . .

The great need of our students from a practical point of view is an ideal; the great danger is that they will become visionary.

. . . I show them that an ideal is like the north star which the colored slave would follow, not with the expectation of ever reaching the star, but under the hope that by following it he might better his condition. I bring in the laws of the unfolding of the life of the individual and of the community until the men discover that the great question of human history is not so much where we are as whither we are drifting, and that time is required for all progress.

The philosophy that Garman taught was more than the philosophy of the schools; it included much of logic, social science, economics, theology. It was *life* itself. Abstractions were made concrete; theories were

applied to conduct, and the students in that recitation room realized that they were dealing at first hand with the science of living. This sobered them and gripped them tremendously.

Dr. Alfred E. Stearns, a pupil of Garman's who has himself become a famous teacher, gives in his volume, 'The Challenge of Youth,'[1] so accurate a picture of the old classroom, that we must quote from him. He says:

> Nothing could equal the deep and intense interest of that group of college boys. Discussion never stopped with the classroom. It went on everywhere. Mr. Garman's study, a mile from the campus, gathered within its walls every night a group of eager students, and the battle was continued till the late hour called us back to our rooms. Frequently small groups would slip from their fraternity houses in the early-morning hours, and, stretched under shady trees or roaming the countryside, would renew the struggle to understand the great and eternal problems of human life and the human soul that we had come to feel were the most important and the only real things in the world.
>
> The class met during the last hour of the morning session, and it was our programme to go from it direct to dinner. The closing bell would ring, but no one would stir. With a smile on his face, Mr. Garman, to whom this was no new experience, would say quietly: 'Gentlemen, the bell has rung. I am willing to go on if you desire, but I wish no one to stay under compulsion.' And none left. The class would go on, fifteen minutes, a half-hour, sometimes three quarters of an hour beyond the closing bell. Far from protesting, those boys welcomed as a rare privilege this added opportunity to wrestle, under the leadership of a master-mind, the great problems that concern the human soul. Dinners grew cold and often were swept from the tables by irate boarding-house keepers; but no one cared. Underclassmen dubbed us crazy and shook their heads in amused contempt at our seeming in-

[1] Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1923.

ability to place the customary emphasis on the commonplace topics of student discussion.

Garman was no theorist. He kept abreast of the world in which he lived and adapted his teaching to the times. In a talk which he gave to the Class of '83 in the old classroom at Amherst on their twentieth-year reunion, he told of the changes that had occurred. 'In your day,' he said, in effect, 'we discussed theology; to-day there is little interest in theology and I draw my illustrations from the realm of sociology and economics.' This change of method is significant.

Though a brilliant speaker, he rarely made an address, and except for his pamphlets — which, indeed, were not in the proper sense published, but only privately printed — nothing important of his was ever published until the collection of miscellaneous papers which appeared in a memorial volume after his death. His health during the larger part of his teaching period was precarious, and he felt that he owed to his classroom all the strength that he had. No man ever gave more freely of himself, or gave when it meant so costly a sacrifice. His conception of the teacher's mission was high and clear. In a letter he once wrote: 'The moral excellence . . . of the pupil is the true crown of glory to the teacher. . . . It has long been known that certain plastic substances brought in contact with mother-of-pearl and allowed time to harden will take on its own variegated splendor. To impress one's self thus on an immortal being — an impression time can never efface — may well excite the envy of angels in Heaven. It *is* immortality.'

This was the immortality that Garman gained. His pupils have carried on the torch that he put into their

hands. Tufts of the University of Chicago, Woodbridge of Columbia, Willcox of Cornell, Newlin of Amherst, Delabarre of Brown, Sharp of Wisconsin, Pierce of Smith — and a dozen more, have taught philosophy under the inspiration of his work. Others of his pupils were led into other lines of teaching and administration. Rhees of Rochester, Williston Walker of Yale, Parsons of Marietta, Woods of the South End House, Stearns of Andover, owed to Garman a debt that they were not slow to acknowledge. And what shall we say of the men of affairs who sat at his feet and learned from him how to analyze a question and how to weigh evidence — such men as Calvin Coolidge, Robert Lansing, Dwight W. Morrow, ex-Governor Whitman, and scores of other leaders in the professions and in business? As Garman himself said, 'This *is* immortality.'

In the college church at Amherst is a tablet to the memory of this great teacher — placed there by the Class of 1908. The inscription explains, in a sentence, the real source of his power. It reads: 'He chose to write on living men's hearts.'

Williams

In the opinion of the Williams men of the early and middle eighties the greatest privilege of their college course was to sit under the teachings of the venerable Mark Hopkins. They thought so at the time and they cling lovingly to the same opinion to-day. Retiring from the presidency of the college in 1872, Dr. Hopkins continued to teach philosophy to the seniors until his death in 1887. Thus seven of the ten classes of the decade came under his influence. Toward the end of the period it was recognized that Dr. Hopkins's powers

were waning, yet enough of the old fire remained to make his classroom not only the most sacred spot on the campus but also a place of high intellectual privilege. He was considered a great figure, revered as the embodiment of the older Williams, and a constructive force even in his old age. Whatever may be said of the advantages of the system that retires college professors at the age of sixty-eight or seventy, Williams men everywhere are thankful that the rule was not made operative in the days of Mark Hopkins, who died at the age of eighty-five, after giving fifty-seven years to the service of his Alma Mater. Yet we must recognize that Dr. Hopkins belongs to a former day. Since he did not play a large part in the educational progress and history of the college during the eighties, it does not fall within the scope of this work to dwell upon his character and work.

Of the other members of the faculty, Orlando M. Fernald, Professor of Greek, made an impression as 'a rigorous intellectual disciplinarian, but with a holding and inspiring quality' that brought him the admiration and respect of all; Professor Edward H. Griffin, later dean of Johns Hopkins, was remarkable for the nicety of his diction but far more for 'the spiritual sensing of the finest qualities in literature'; Professor Richard A. Rice made a large place for himself by conveying an appreciation of modern languages and as the organizer of the Department of Art; Leverett W. Spring, prominent in the eighties, became still more so at a later period by the publication of his 'History of Williams College,' which is a standard work and from which we have drawn freely.

John Bascom devoted thirty-seven years to Williams

as tutor, lecturer on sociology, and Professor of Rhetoric, before he went to the University of Wisconsin as its president. In 1887 he returned to lecture as a member of the faculty and became both an intellectual power and an inspiration. Dr. Bascom's quality as a scholar and teacher even in his early career may be gathered from the testimony of Dr. Washington Gladden, who felt that no other member of the Williams faculty contributed so largely to his intellectual life.[1] In association with Dr. Bascom should be mentioned Professor Samuel Fessenden Clark, of the chair of Natural History, still active in teaching, a man of 'sweetness and light,' much beloved and honored, a source of inspiration to the present student body.

A personage that Williams students never forgot was Truman H. Safford, a mathematical genius known as 'The Lightning Calculator,' a characterization sufficiently borne out by the following incident of his classroom: 'One of the students gave him the problem during a recitation — "Supposing I was born at a certain hour, minute, and second of a certain day, how old would I now be in seconds?" The professor put his head slightly on one side in a characteristic way, walked up and down before the blackboard once or twice, and then gave the answer. "No," said the student, "that is not correct, for I have worked out the problem and the answer is different." "What is your answer?" On being told, he resumed his walk before

[1] It is interesting to find that Dr. Bascom in one of his addresses lamented the absence of 'divine afflatus' in the college life of his time, comparing it to the ground-pine — 'a fresh, clean, wide-leaved and inviting shrub, which flattens itself out over the earth and never . . . carries a crown into the sky.'

the blackboard and presently exclaimed, "Oh! You forgot the leap years!"'[1]

Two outstanding figures on the Williams faculty we have reserved for more extended treatment. They are President Franklin Carter and Professor Arthur Latham Perry.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN CARTER

In the unanimous judgment of the Williams men we have consulted President Carter stands out as the most conspicuous and influential figure of the period, so far as their college is concerned. The testimony is impressive. Professor Henry D. Wild, of the Department of Latin, writes: 'He remade Williams in the eighties and laid the foundation for its future development. . . . The one personality that dominated the college at that time, and, indeed, throughout his entire administration, was that of Franklin Carter. . . . We owe the college of to-day, to a large extent, to his remarkable labors.' Professor Spring, in his history, remarks: 'The New Williams may be said, with sufficient accuracy, to have begun July 6, 1881, when Franklin Carter was inaugurated as successor to President Chadbourne. To him belongs the honor of getting the latter-day college under way.' In another connection he speaks of President Carter as 'a revolutionary administrator.' The Reverend Harry P. Dewey, D.D., of Minneapolis, Williams '84, characterizes President Carter as 'a man of great ability, wide culture, and executive force, who in 1881 led the transition from the old to the modern Williams.' This is seconded heartily by the Reverend George L. Richardson of Burlington, Vermont, '88,

[1] Spring: *History of Williams College*, p. 269.

who speaks of President Carter's 'notable administration' and who emphasizes the great improvement in equipment made by the college in the ten years '84 to '94, and which were in a large measure due to his 'creative ability.' Similar voices come to us from the past. At the alumni dinner in '91, President G. Stanley Hall said of the president, who was then in his prime, 'He was the rejuvenator of Williams College.' At the funeral of President Carter in 1919 notable tributes were paid. Dean Griffin, a classmate and a lifelong friend, began by remarking, 'This day removes from our earthly vision one who has rendered greater service to the college than any other individual, save one, who has ever lived.'

We take peculiar satisfaction in recording these judgments in view of the impression that went out from Williams and that permeated outside circles to a considerable extent during the earlier years of President Carter's administration, to the effect that he was unpopular with the students and was not regarded as a success by those who knew the inside of college affairs. This is one among several illustrations that might be cited of the shallowness and often unfairness of current college opinion, especially when that opinion relates to one who feels called upon to stiffen up the discipline of college life. The overwhelming endorsement of President Carter twenty years, and even ten years after the inauguration of the new régime, should put to rest any criticisms arising in the early years of his administration.

Franklin Carter was especially fitted for the work of rejuvenating an institution which had a right to glory in its past. Can one imagine a more delicate and diffi-

cult undertaking? Graduating from Phillips Academy and entering the Yale Class of '59, as its finest scholar, he was led on the ground of health to transfer his allegiance to Williams, where he graduated in 1862. There followed a period of study abroad, after which he accepted from Williams the professorship of Latin and French, holding it until 1868. In 1872 he was called to Yale, where he filled the chair of German with such distinction that he was considered as a possible successor to President Noah Porter. Returning to Williams as its sixth president, in 1881, he served his Alma Mater until 1901, and spent his remaining days, until 1919, as an honored citizen of Williamstown, engaged in a ministry of writing and public speaking which spread his influence far and wide.

Thus he was enabled to bring to the college in an hour of need the vision and experience of an intellectual man of the world. An expert in three departments of college work, knowing his Europe as well as his America, he had absorbed the spirit of Yale, yet was at home in Williamstown among the hills. If there were adjustments to be made it was certain they would be brought about in a sympathetic and patient way. Yet there were those who complained bitterly. It was asserted that he scorned the Williams of the past as 'provincial.' From one of his colleagues came this remark: 'Franklin Carter was not the first nor the only person who made the mistake and encountered the moral defeats of a lifetime by ignoring the persistent powers of origin and the peculiarities hardened by tradition and usage and long-time adjustment.' To one who reviews his administration in the light of its results, such an observation illustrates rather the inability of those

'hardened by tradition' to evaluate personalities who come with a message of progress and hope. One does not get the impression of a ruthless breaking with the past, but rather of a spirit of gentleness and patience beyond what is ordinarily found in college executives. It fell to President Carter to broaden the curriculum and modernize its method by introducing the elective system. Yet how tactfully was it done! In his first report to the trustees, he said: 'I should be willing, if our resources allowed it, to make some substitution for Greek in the form of modern languages or science.' The fruit of this modest suggestion is found in the fact that in 1881 electives were offered to seniors in astronomy, chemistry, French, German, English literature, Latin, Greek, and calculus. A little later similar privileges were extended to juniors and sophomores. Not until 1894 was Greek stricken from the list of requirements for entrance. A colleague, in full sympathy with Dr. Carter's aims, speaks of his having given the college 'an epoch-making administration,' yet he remarks: 'During all these activities he maintained in the classroom the greater traditions of his predecessors.'

In addition to the reforming of the course of study, President Carter showed wisdom in the way he strengthened and enlarged his faculty, which was sadly depleted by death and removal, and consisted of only twelve members. During his administration the number of instructors more than doubled, while the student body increased by sixty per cent. His record as a builder is also impressive, the more so as he was constitutionally timid in the matter of soliciting gifts from men of wealth. He once confessed that when he made his first call upon an alumnus in order to interest him

in the finances of the institution, he walked three times around the block where the man lived before he could muster up sufficient courage to ring his doorbell. Yet during his administration, eight new buildings were erected, including Lasell Gymnasium, Hopkins Hall, Jesup Hall, and the Thompson Laboratories. The permanent funds of the college were increased from about three hundred thousand to more than one million dollars, truly a noteworthy achievement in those days.

Dr. Carter was unwilling to relinquish the work of teaching, even when his administrative duties were extremely heavy. Instead of following any of the subjects which he had taught in earlier years, he undertook, in keeping with the Mark Hopkins tradition, to lecture to the seniors on Theism. That his work in this department was of a superior quality we have abundant evidence. Professor Carroll L. Maxey, of the Class of '87, now of the Department of English, writes of the vivid impressions of the president's classroom: 'His work in Theism with the seniors remains one of the abiding memories of college life. When Williams men of the eighties gather to discuss college days, Dr. Carter's scholarship, methods, the clearness of his presentations, are always the subject of comment.' How many college teachers have such things said of them by students who have been out for forty years!

Dr. Carter's influence as a teacher was somewhat impaired by the impression of extreme reticence which he seemed to give. The students recognized his scientific accuracy and his brilliance as a scholar, yet stood in awe of what seemed to them a rather formidable exterior. Yet, as is so often the case with natures like his, those who had the courage to come into more

intimate terms than the classroom allowed, found that beneath the surface was beating a warm and friendly heart.

Dr. Griffin, in his tribute at the funeral of President Carter, remarked: 'The basic element and compelling force in Dr. Carter's character was religion. . . . In every root and fiber of his being he was a Christian. . . . His greatest concern for the institution which he loved was that it should remain true to the tradition of Christian faith and the Christian nurture inherited from the past.' [1]

In appearance Dr. Carter was erect, alert, with a finely chiseled face and penetrating, scholarly eyes. His thin side-whiskers falling to his coat-collar gave an air of urbanity in spite of reserve. Naturally a man of fine dignity, a polished gentleman of the old school, he carried the honor of Williams in a way to make her students and alumni proud.

Taken all in all, Franklin Carter must be rated high in an age which produced a remarkable number of distinguished college administrators and teachers. He belongs among the eminent leaders of education in New England. Possibly as well as any figure we can name he illustrates the unique character of the eighties as the decade when the New England colleges made their adjustments to the rapidly evolving modern world.

ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY

The author of that distinguished biography, 'Barrett Wendell and His Letters,' in commenting upon college faculties, remarks: 'It is a sure token of poverty

[1] *Williams Alumni Review*, January, 1920, p. 10.

when a college does not possess in its teaching force one or more "characters" the "taking off" of whom becomes a recognized accomplishment. These are generally the men who impress themselves most strongly upon the undergraduate. The superficial things about them can be, and are imitated with mirthful results. And, as a rule, however, the personal peculiarities of a teacher are interesting in proportion to his own value as an instructor and stimulator of youth. The real things — the fruits of study and thought, the expressions of intellectual and personal friendship, the intimate concern for the welfare of the pupils — these are not objects of mimicry, however they may enhance its appeal.'[1]

The 'character' *par excellence* in the Williams faculty, during the eighties and for a long period before, was Arthur Latham Perry, known in college as 'Peri.' He was the man who, next to the president, was first pointed out to the incoming freshman; his room in Alumni Hall was the 'big show' of the campus. This was the result in large measure of a custom prevalent in his lecture-room, handed down from class to class, known as the 'Peri Howl,' one of the most characteristic inventions of the period. The 'Peri Howl' has been defined as an open-mouthed, full-toned, rhythmic outburst of sound which followed upon a humorous or witty remark made by the professor or by a student when reciting. Sometimes it appears to have been a substitute for applause, and again it was expressive of protest or dissent. Anything in word or happening out of the usual or with the touch of sensation in it might produce the explosion. A member of the Class

[1] *Barrett Wendell and His Letters*, p. 40.

of '84 who furnishes the most graphic account speaks of the howl as continuing for only a few seconds, during which time it was tolerated and often, apparently, quite enjoyed by the professor. It subsided quickly when he indicated by the uplifted hand that it should cease. 'Naturally,' our correspondent adds, 'this custom was not highly regarded by the other members of the faculty, and President Carter undoubtedly regarded it as reprehensible. However, it was considered an exhilarating feature of the classroom by many, if not by all of the boys, and they seldom exhibited any disposition to overdo their rather extraordinary privilege.'

One of the peculiarities of this highly original teacher was to revolve his pencil in wide circles while the student was reciting. If the student was proceeding along correct lines the pencil would revolve at normal speed; if he revealed lack of preparation or made mistakes the pencil would slow down and eventually stop. Naturally, 'Peri's' pencil was considered to be the student's best friend.

When we pass from such idiosyncrasies to the real man and his work, we find one of the most original, rugged, and human figures on the academic stage. Professor Perry was one of America's pioneer economists. He shared with William G. Sumner of Yale, Francis A. Walker of the Institute of Technology, and David A. Wells in United States Government service, the honor of laying the foundations upon which the far more scientific departments of economics of to-day have been built. He belonged to the 'Manchester School' of free traders and of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, to which Bright and Cobden gave both distinc-

tion and opprobrium. He was in regular correspondence with the Manchester leaders and was proud of the connection. As in the case of Sumner, his views always vigorously, not to say violently, expressed, brought down upon his head the criticism and opposition of the extreme Protectionists. This added to his enjoyment.

The Reverend Carroll Perry, in that charming biographical sketch called 'A Professor of Life,' tells of overhearing, in his boyhood days, a conversation about his father between a village politician and a group of idlers. 'How the hell can a professor on his own salary send six children through college? He can't and he don't. It's bein' done secretly by the Cobden Club of London.'

Professor Perry was positive, dogmatic, denunciatory as no teacher had a right to be; but his sincerity, his intellectuality, and his unwavering enthusiasm carried him through. It should be understood that college boys in any period take kindly to dogmatism if only it comes from a true and courageous personality. They will stand any number of hard knocks if the teacher is willing to take a few in return.

Like most of the Manchester School and their disciples in America, Professor Perry made the mistake of unduly limiting the field of governmental activity. The world is moving away from the theories which dominated the teachings of these men. Their contribution was in the moral rather than in the scientific realm; they stand to-day as the challengers of tradition and the stimulators of independent thinking rather than as the prophets of a new order.

The biography by the son reveals that Professor

Perry was a prominent and greatly loved citizen of Williamstown. An original and forceful preacher, he was in demand for the supplying of the pulpits of the region. As the local historian he devoted his leisure time to running down the traditions and the records of the early settlers, and transcribing them for the benefit of posterity. Unfortunately, his history of Williamstown and Williams College, written late in life, perhaps too late, and upon which he must have expended an enormous amount of work, was marred by unhappy references to certain of his colleagues who deserved better treatment at his hands. Williams men entertain tender feelings when they recall the interest and attention which Professor Perry bestowed upon their private affairs. The welfare of the individual student was always on his heart. The man meant far more to him than the student. He was indeed 'A Professor of Life.'

By the kind permission of the Reverend Carroll Perry and the publishers, we cite verbatim the following scene:

My father is sitting at the side of his desk, a classbook in his left hand, a lead pencil in his right. Before him is his class, a class, always, where anything may happen, save somnolence.

'Gentlemen, this is the root of the matter, here is the whole thing in a nutshell. Buying and selling is exchange of values.' He rises from his chair and walks to the front of the platform, warming to his work. 'And what constitutes the basis of value? Nothing is the basis of value, nothing ever was the basis of value, nothing ever can be the basis of value, save human effort, that is, labor. It is labor that gives life to buying and selling; it is labor that creates profitable exchange.

'And what is involved in exchange? Let me tell you. In

all exchange whatsoever we observe two desires, two efforts, two satisfactions. This is the meaning of buying and selling; and a market for products means products in market. This is the one and only road to prosperity. I ask, is there any other way of obtaining wealth?'

'Yes, sir!' shouts a pupil from the middle of the hall.

'Rise and state your case, Mr. Blank.'

Blank rises and declares there is one other way — 'I might marry a very rich wife!'

Father sits down, throws back his head, slaps his right knee and explodes with laughter. The class howls with delight. Each man nudges his neighbor and says, 'Bully for Blank! He's got one on Peri!'

The professor rises from his chair again, and with a twinkle in his blue eyes he declares, 'Even in that case, my dear Blank, the principle remains unchanged, for you would be bought and *she would be sold!*'

Pandemonium reigns.[1]

Bowdoin

President William DeWitt Hyde

The Offer of the College

> To be at home in all lands and all ages: to count Nature a familiar acquaintance, and Art an intimate friend: to gain a standard for the appreciation of other men's work and the criticism of your own: to carry the keys of the world's library in your pocket, and feel its resources behind you in whatever task you undertake: to make hosts of friends among men of your own age who are to be the leaders in all walks of life: to lose yourself in generous enthusiasms and coöperate with others for common ends: to learn manners from students who are gentlemen, and form character under professors who are Christians: — this is the offer of the college for four of the best years of your life.
>
> William DeWitt Hyde

When President Hyde made this now famous offer in respect to his own college, he could do it in all sin-

[1] Carroll Perry: *A Professor of Life*, p. 110.

cerity, in the belief that the student would receive exactly what he had been led to expect. Whatever lack there might be in equipment or in professorial ability, there should be no lack in respect to an atmosphere of culture and the appreciation of the higher values of life. In so far as in him lay, Bowdoin should be an ideal college of the New England type.

William DeWitt Hyde was only twenty-six years old when Bowdoin made its 'offer' to him. He had graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1879, had studied theology for three years at Union Seminary in New York and at Andover, had taken a short post-graduate course in philosophy at Harvard, and for two years had been pastor of a Congregational church in Paterson, New Jersey. On the basis of this scanty experience he was summoned in 1885 to take the chair of Philosophy at Bowdoin and to become head of the institution. At the time he was the youngest college president in the United States, and for a number of years was popularly known as 'The Boy President.' Bowdoin men were naturally surprised at the choice, Mr. Hyde not even being a graduate of the institution. Some of his teachers at Harvard also wondered if he would be equal to so heavy a responsibility. Professor George H. Palmer, under whom he had studied and of whom he loved to speak as his spiritual father, upon hearing of the election, wrote in dismay, ' I didn't recommend him as president, but I expressed the opinion that he would make an excellent professor of philosophy.'

The man more responsible than any other for the choice was Professor Egbert Smith of Andover Theological Seminary, who had recognized young Hyde's

ability while a student at Andover, and who had the courage as a trustee of Bowdoin to present his name for the presidency. Every one knows now that it was a brilliant choice. Within a few years Hyde was recognized as one of the foremost educators in America, and Harvard men were talking of him as a likely successor to President Eliot.

Never did a college president enter upon his task with greater valor and zeal. Here at least his youthfulness was in his favor. He was like a knight buckling on his armor for the fray. The situation was not lacking in the element of challenge. Two years before, President Joshua L. Chamberlain had resigned after a career of doubtful value to the college. He had been a successful general during the Civil War, he had gained distinction as the officer who received the colors of Lee's army at the time of the surrender, and from 1867 to 1871 had been Governor of the State of Maine. It was no fault of his that as a military man he did not fit into the situation at a cultural college like Bowdoin. His most conspicuous effort had been the introduction of military training into the college, and this had ended in failure. Retiring in favor of a business career in 1883, he left for his successor a faculty of only eleven members and a student body reduced to one hundred and eighteen. The old college was at a low ebb.

The situation might have dismayed a less valiant and discerning spirit than young Hyde. But he had not read Bowdoin's history in vain. She was to be judged by her noble past and not by a temporary recession in her career. Ten years before, in 1875, Longfellow, at the fiftieth anniversary of his class, had read his 'Morituri Salutamus,' paying just tribute to

'The teachers who in earlier days
Led our bewildered feet through learning's maze,'

and lamenting that all save one had passed from the scene:

'They are all gone
Into the land of shadows — all save one.
Honor and reverence, and the good repute
That follows faithful service as its fruit,
Be unto him, whom living we salute.'

The one to whom Longfellow referred was the beloved Professor Alpheus Spring Packard, who had for fifty-six years been connected with the Bowdoin faculty, during most of the time filling the chair of Natural and Revealed Religion, and who, upon the retirement of General Chamberlain, had been made acting president. By the time the new president came upon the campus, Professor Packard also had passed 'into the land of shadows.'

The case, however, was by no means hopeless. In looking over the little group of teachers that remained, the new executive found such men as Charles Henry Smith and Henry Leland Chapman. Of Smith, who occupied the chair of Mathematics, and who later went to Yale as Professor of American History, President Hyde used to say that from him he learned his trade. Smith knew the college and loved it. Bowdoin was engraved on his heart. He was a man of practical wisdom and he never had an axe to grind. The young president resorted frequently to Professor Smith for advice upon matters of large concern, and especially upon troublesome questions of discipline.

Professor Chapman, who held the chair of Rhetoric, Oratory, and English Literature throughout his long

career (he died in 1913), was recognized by students and alumni alike as the best-loved member of the faculty. Conspicuous for his courtesy, wit, patience, unselfishness, friendliness, and breadth of view, he became to President Hyde in those early years a tower of strength.

In building his new faculty, while aided by the advice of the older men and by the counsel of his trustees, President Hyde from the beginning followed his own ideas and in the process developed a rare ability for picking the right man for the right place. He emphasized the spirit of scholarship and work, of good citizenship and public service, of loyalty, truth, duty, reverence, courage, self-control, and every quality that helps make the man. He sought for teachers who first of all were *men*. We are told by one of his trustees that he filled vacancies in the faculty with the greatest care and then pursued the policy of non-interference. President Hyde once summed up his theory as to faculty appointments in the one word 'personality.' In his book, 'The College Man and The College Woman,' he says: 'That [personality] is the thing all wise employers of teachers seek to secure above all else. In colleges for men in New England it is absolutely imperative. . . . In a men's college in New England a professor with seriously defective personality is simply impossible.'[1]

In the course of the years (we do not confine ourselves to the eighties) we find such names as these coming upon the faculty: Dr. Frank N. Whittier, who made his mark not only as teacher of hygiene but also as a pathologist and bacteriologist; Charles C. Hutchins, chair of Physics; William A. Moody, chair of Mathematics; Wilmot B. Mitchell, chair of Rhetoric and

[1] Hyde: *The College Man and the College Woman*, p. 248.

Oratory; Charles T. Burnett, chair of Psychology, who is preparing a much needed biography of President Hyde; Orrin C. Hormell, chair of History; Alfred O. Gross, chair of Biology; Thomas C. VanCleve, chair of History; Harry DeForrest Smith, Department of Greek, who later went to Amherst; G. G. Wilder, librarian; Paul Nixon, the present dean; Kenneth C. N. Sills, chair of English, who became the first dean and succeeded to the presidency. Names like these suggest where we are to look for one secret of President Hyde's success.

President Hyde's work for Bowdoin in the realm of material advancement scarcely falls within the period under review, but no characterization would be complete without some reference to his success in a sphere where a man of his scholarly tastes might not be expected to feel at home. To Bowdoin men it means much that, as a result of his 'practical idealism,' the college is housed in appropriate buildings, and that a noble endowment fund has been built up. At the memorial service in 1917, one of the speakers dwelt admiringly upon this little-understood feature of the administration that had closed: 'When as a young and inexperienced minister of twenty-six he entered upon his office he found a few buildings dating from a distant past, a depleted treasury, and an endowment that was pitifully small. When he laid down his work the contrast between the college he had found and the college he left was as great and striking as that which the Emperor Augustus produced in transforming a Rome of brick into a Rome of marble.' [1]

[1] Rev. Samuel V. Cole, LL.D., in *Bowdoin College Bulletin*, January, 1918.

It has been said that some college presidents, like the King of England, reign but do not rule. No such intimation was ever made of President Hyde. In the conduct of the practical affairs of the college, and especially in the matter of student discipline, he was the unchallenged head of the institution. Justice, firmness, and good nature were so evenly mixed in his decisions, that rarely did an offending student or even an offending class take issue with the punishment he dealt out. They knew they had to do with a man who stood four-square on the verities of the case. They felt also that he understood the campus code and did not take their follies and immaturities with the seriousness of the outside world. When one day a sophomore scattered the heads of parlor-matches over a classroom floor, and being caught in the act by the irate professor, was ordered to report to the president and not to return until he had the president's permission, Dr. Hyde listened to the story with grave attention, his nervous eyes, according to a trick he had, moving rapidly to the right and left, and then quietly remarked: 'Don't you think that was a very silly thing to do? And now I suggest that you get back to work as soon as possible.' When the student returned to the classroom he was informed that he had been marked absent and had been given a zero, on the supposition that had he been there he would have been called upon and would have flunked. It appears to have been a case where the teacher more than the pupil needed the counsel of the president.

Self-government was instituted about the middle of the decade by means of a 'college jury,' and was considered to work with fair success. But the president's good humor and fairness were what kept things running

smoothly. A really great achievement was the gradual transformation in student standards of morality and demeanor. He *did* understand the crude code of behavior prevailing in Bowdoin and the other colleges of the period, and he did not propose to let it stand. The dignity and sincerity with which he dealt with this problem and the easy and natural way in which he brought about the momentous change, has been commented upon by prominent Bowdoin men.[1] It is stated that in the course of a few years the standards of gentlemanly conduct came to be accepted as a matter of course, 'like grass on the campus or the needles on the pines.'

In all this the 'boy president' was aided by his boyishness and the impression he gave of being entirely human. He went about the campus and about the town on a bicycle, often carrying a tennis-racquet under his arm. He dressed in an informal way. He had a fine physical presence. One of his associates speaks of him as 'an embodiment of vigor and refinement,' as 'giving distinction to whatever place he occupied; such that a young visitor from another land could say to one of us, as he saw the swinging figure pass down the street "There goes a *personage!* One would know that he is president of a college."'[2] Clearly Dr. Hyde was a new type of college executive. One does not readily picture President Porter, President Seelye, President Carter or even President Eliot coming to class across college paths on a bicycle. Yet we are told that Dr. Hyde never lowered his dignity. He was not a man one would

[1] See Edward Page Mitchell in *Bowdoin College Bulletin*, January, 1918.

[2] Professor Charles T. Burnett in *Bowdoin College Bulletin*, June, 1923.

slap on the back. Because he was known to be square, able, and true, he was popular with the boys, but they never thought of throwing up their hats in his honor. In the family it was different. Twenty-five years after his inauguration he was playing tennis and wrestling with his son. Not until then could his son throw him. He was always the 'boy president' in the home.

It is when we come to speak of President Hyde as a teacher that we touch the core of his greatness. Possibly this was not as clear during the eighties as later on. When he took hold at Bowdoin there were seniors in his classes older than himself. They felt the zest of his scholarship, they yielded to the contagion of his youthful enthusiasm, but they could not expect that quality of enlightenment and inspiration which came in later years.

An ardent disciple of President Eliot, Dr. Hyde stood for the principles of the Harvard curriculum and in a few years was recognized as a champion of the newer ideas. At an early date he introduced the elective system in so far as the resources and size of the college permitted, and was rewarded by having the senior class as a whole elect his course in philosophy. As this occurred year after year, the entire student body came under the influence of his teaching and personality. Since the days of Mark Hopkins, the argument for the small college has found no better illustration. 'Mass education' under such a teacher became an impossibility. He knew his students and his students knew him. What he gave them was personal education of the finest sort.

His methods in the classroom were highly original, reminding one of Sumner of Yale. The boys never

knew what he would do next. In the Bowdoin course on Government it was the custom to require each student to write out his individual political platform. President Hyde once followed the same idea with the senior class in respect to their religious ideas. He required each of the students to write out his religious creed. This evoked much reading and no end of earnest searching of heart. He then reduced the sixty creeds to a single composite creed. Into this he put everything which any students had affirmed, eliminating all denials, aiming in this way to get a class creed to which each individual member would assent. He then distributed copies of this composite creed to each member of the class and invited criticism and amendment. The class spent two hours discussing the articles one by one, making such concessions as were necessary to secure their acceptance by the class. At the end of the second hour, he tells us, the creed was adopted by a unanimous vote. He did not claim that this was a way to secure a model or satisfactory statement of belief, but that as a pedagogical process it had great value.[1]

In President Hyde's teaching, as in the books which came from his pen in rapid succession, two ideas stand out in clear distinction. The first of these is the organic unity of life. For successful living a man must secure the harmonious development of his own powers and, having these under control, must adjust himself to the forces of the universe which surge about him. He was fond of quoting Kant's definition of education as 'the process by which man becomes man.' With him the teaching of philosophy found its goal in the production of well-rounded character. He begins his

[1] Hyde: *The College Man and the College Woman*, p. 169.

principal philosophical work with this remark: 'In these days when, attracted by the achievements of the specialists in every other field, Philosophy herself is sorely tempted to forsake her mission as interpreter of the world as a whole and guide to noble living, for the mystical cult of the devotee or the technical craft of the critic, it may not be amiss to try to tell once more in simple terms how Thought constructs the Natural World in which we dwell; and how Love is striving to create a Spiritual World that shall be as fair as the face of Nature and as free as the will of man.'[1] He listed twelve humanities in which he urged his students to perfect themselves: athletics, society, science, art, history, philosophy, business, politics, wealth, love, morals, religion.

The ideal of a well-rounded and well-balanced character pervades his writings. It was the germinal idea of his inaugural address; it, perhaps, found its best expression in his 'New Ethics.' His book, 'The College Man and the College Woman,' begins with 'The Offer of the College' (already quoted) and ends with an equally comprehensive setting-forth of 'Alumni Ideals.' It is significant that this book contains the following dedication:

To
Theodore Roosevelt
Who as Legislator, Commissioner, Secretary,
Colonel, Author, Governor,
Vice-President, President and Peacemaker,
has Wrought in the World
What He was Taught in College
and Shown the Power for Good
a College Man can be

[1] *Practical Idealism*, Preface.

There are those who would like to see William DeWitt Hyde himself set forth in appropriate phrase as the ideal college man.

To President Hyde religion was simply being human. His books, especially his later books, taking up the note of his classroom talks, emphasize the thought that the crowning human experience is the experience of God; that religion is being human on the highest plane. When we seek God with all our hearts, or those qualities for which God stands, we achieve that unity which is divine. This was the burden of one of the last addresses he made, that to the Yale freshmen in 1916, the title of which was 'Are you Human?' It is gratifying to find that this idea has taken firm root in the student mind of to-day; that college men no longer think of religious experience as a thing apart, but rather as the assembling of all the parts of man. It is surprising, however, to find the ideal proclaimed as something new, the peculiar product of modern thought. From the days of Mark Hopkins no other theory has been taught in New England college halls. Of Palmer, Porter, Seelye, Carter, and the other great teachers, it may be said that they inculcated religion as wholeness of life. Of Hyde it may be claimed that in a peculiar sense he was the prophet of the broadly human view.

How far this carried him in the realm of what is known as evangelical thought may be learned from his book, 'God's Education of Man,' in which he set forth in considerable detail his conception of the radical and far-reaching change in theological thought which characterized the closing decades of the last century. Many of his pupils, and perhaps more of his personal friends,

recall that his favorite poem, the one which he quoted on many occasions when referring to the changing basis of faith and what many considered the vanishing sense of certainty in the religious realm, was Browning's 'Epilogue.' With deep emotion would he read the closing lines:

> 'That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Or decomposes but to recompose,
> Become my universe that feels and knows.'

The second great emphasis in President Hyde's teaching was upon practical, in distinction from abstract, idealism. An idealist in every fiber of his being, he had little sympathy for the class of thinkers whose conception of the perfect good holds slight relation to the actualities of life, or those who, recognizing such relation, are impatient of the intermediate steps necessary to its attainment. He could say with Browning:

> 'The common problem, yours, mine, every one's,
> Is — not to fancy what were fair in life
> Provided it could be — but, finding first
> What may be, then find how to make it fair
> Up to our means: a very different thing.'

Nothing President Hyde ever wrote was more effective than his contrasting of the two types of idealists — the abstract and the practical — by setting one great name over against another, in the realms of philosophy, poetry, art, and reform. The list is as follows:

Plato and Aristotle
Kant and Hegel

Matthew Arnold and Robert Browning
Garrison and Lincoln
Burne-Jones and Watts [1]

The accompanying discussion is a brilliant piece of work. In his book, 'Practical Idealism,' we find the idea developed constructively as a philosophical system, which might be characterized as the Philosophy of Common Sense.

President Hyde received many calls to other and larger institutions. These he persistently refused, preferring to work for a smaller number but for larger results. He found his reward in the response of thirty-two classes of Bowdoin men, and even more in the growing appreciation of the alumni as they came to realize how great had been the influence of his teachings and example upon their lives. One of these speaks of 'the inspiration which seemed to radiate from him, his fine optimism and his clean independence of thought.' 'Dynamic' is the word that several use in characterizing his personality. A certain gladiatorial quality in the man is praised by others. Taking it all in all — his whole-souled commitment to the newer view of education, his athletic prowess, his poise of character, his independence of thought, his versatility of genius, his straight look at the actual world, his reverence for God and man, his ability to impress not only his truth but himself — we must regard him as the typical figure of the period we have under review.

As to Bowdoin's appraisal of the man, briefly and impressively it is set forth in the memorial tablet on the building which bears his name:

[1] *God's Education of Man*, p. 213 ff.

This Building is Named the
William DeWitt Hyde Dormitory
in Memory of
a Great President of the College
Who Served from 1885 to 1917
And Who Upheld to Generations of Bowdoin Men
as the True Offer of the College
the Opportunity that Enables One
'To be at Home in All Lands and All Ages'

Wesleyan

Wesleyan, the oldest of the Methodist colleges of the United States, after a half-century of stress and discouragement, was, at the beginning of the eighties, celebrating its semi-centennial with a hope that has since been amply justified. President Foss, who had been largely responsible for the improvement in the financial condition as well as the morale of the college, was in 1880 made a bishop of the Methodist Church, and was succeeded in the presidency by Dr. John W. Beach, an alumnus of the Class of '45. It was a time of expansion at Wesleyan as in the other colleges, and the eighties saw a marked increase in the strength of the faculty and the enrichment of the curriculum. During this time Wesleyan was a co-educational college and hence of a somewhat different type from its New England neighbors. Since then, however, it has become a college for men.

The member of the faculty during the eighties who afterward became most famous was Woodrow Wilson. He came to Middletown, a young man of thirty-two, as Professor of History and Political Science, from Bryn Mawr, where he had done his first teaching. As he remained at Wesleyan but two years — from '88

to '90 — before entering upon his work at Princeton, he cannot be said to have identified himself in any real sense with the college, but simply to have used it as a stepping-stone in his career.

Far otherwise was it with Caleb T. Winchester, an alumnus of '69, who upon graduating remained as librarian and afterward as Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature until his death in 1920 — a span of more than fifty years. 'Winch,' as he was familiarly called, was perhaps the finest influence that Wesleyan has ever offered to her students. He was a thorough scholar, a delightful friend, an inspired teacher, a cultured gentleman of letters. Raleigh, the English critic, on the occasion of a visit to this country some years ago declared that Winchester was the most interesting personality that he had met on this side of the Atlantic; while ex-President Wilson referred to him as the foremost teacher of English literature in America. His influence was not confined to the men who sat in his classroom; he was a lecturer of rare charm and power at a time when the lecture platform was an important means of disseminating culture — and beside his public addresses he gave courses at Johns Hopkins, Yale, Brown, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Wisconsin, Northwestern, Wells, and other colleges. As a writer he gained a still larger audience through his 'Principles of Literary Criticism,' 'Life of John Wesley,' 'Literature as a Means of Religious Education,' 'Five Short Courses in Reading,' and his scholarly editing of a host of literary texts. As was said of one of his literary masters, 'he touched nothing that he did not adorn.'

Another member of the Wesleyan faculty worthy to stand beside Professor Winchester was Dr. William N.

Rice, scientist, theologian, seer, teacher, and friend. He graduated from Wesleyan four years earlier than Winchester and after two years of post-graduate study at Sheffield, returned to his Alma Mater as Professor of Geology and Natural History. Since 1884 he has occupied the chair of Geology. His standing in the scientific world is attested by the fact that he has been president of the American Society of Naturalists and that he was asked by the Government to make an official survey of the Triassic rocks of the Connecticut Valley. He was also selected to revise Dana's 'Textbook of Geology,' and was the author of 'Twenty-Five Years of Scientific Progress,' 'Science Teaching in the Schools,' and the 'Geology of Bermuda.'

It was, however, through his books on religion as related to science that he gained his reputation as a writer. He took much the same line of thought that Professor Drummond had marked out. A thoroughgoing evolutionist and at the same time a devout and thoughtful Christian, he was to many a helpful mediating influence in a time of changing belief. His books, 'The Christian Faith in an Age of Science,' and 'Science and Religion,' grew out of the perplexities of successive classes of students. In his beliefs he was at least twenty-five years in advance of his times and though the saintliest of men, he was branded as a heretic by many who could not understand him.

At least two other members of the Wesleyan faculty in the eighties deserve mention. Professor John M. Van Vleck, of the department of mathematics and astronomy, though a modest man and not gifted in public speech, was an excellent teacher and had much to do with the enrichment of the curriculum. He was

acting president from 1887 to 1889, as well as for two other short periods. Professor Wilbur O. Atwater was known internationally as a chemist. He made his reputation largely by his research work and, though not preëminent in the classroom he showed real genius in the choice of men to work with and under him. An enthusiast in the study of scientific agriculture, he exerted a wide influence in the development of agricultural colleges in this country, and has been sometimes called the father of the movement. Wesleyan has reason to be proud of him.

Tufts

Our honor roll of great teachers would be incomplete without reference to the strong work that was done at Tufts. Although coming somewhat late into the New England group, its founders, men of the Universalist faith, had the vision and courage to place the institution in close propinquity to Harvard, in the belief, so amply justified by the event, that Greater Boston offered a field for more than one example of the New England college type. From the beginning Tufts has been kept clear of any denominational rule. With the inauguration of President Elmer H. Capen in 1875 an increasing spirit of liberality began to appear in the government of the college. An elasticity of curriculum began, the students' requirements were raised, and the opportunities for elective work were broadened. Required work in Latin, Greek, and mathematics was somewhat decreased.

In 1882 a course in electrical engineering was offered which later led to the founding of the School of Engineering. The material development of the college

kept pace with the intellectual. Chapel, gymnasium, and dormitory buildings were erected. P. T. Barnum, the great showman, gave money for the Barnum Museum, which now houses the gigantic form of Jumbo the monster elephant.

During the decade of the eighties, the student body doubled in numbers. Fred Stark Pearson, the international engineer, who lost his life on the Lusitania, and John G. Sargent, now Attorney-General of the United States, were among the better-known graduates of the period.

Tufts, although at that time smaller than any of the other colleges that we have discussed, had on its faculty no lack of strong personalities, men of power and inspiration. Elmer Hewitt Capen, whose presidency extended from 1875 to 1905, was in the full vigor of his activities, and was influential in molding the public-school system of Massachusetts as well as the changing trend of the collegiate curriculum. William R. Shipman in the chair of Logic, Amos E. Dolbear at the head of the Department of Physics and William L. Hooper in electrical engineering were outstanding men, beloved by their students, and important contributors to the educational advance of the period.

Professor Dolbear, known as 'Dolly' to the undergraduates, possessed a wonderfully alert and ingenious mind, clear in its grasp of principles, eager to question their import, fearless to follow all its suggestions to their conclusions. It won for him a place among the leading inventive geniuses of his time. Dolbear was famous as one of the earliest investigators in the field of telephony, and contested with Bell claims to certain

inventions made use of in the telephone. In later life he became a well-known figure in the scientific and literary circles of Boston, where his gracious and scholarly bearing drew to him a host of friends, among whom he was recognized as a typical figure of New England's Augustan Age.

CHAPTER VI

COLLEGE RELIGION

A Tom Brown entering a New England college during the eighties would be under no misapprehension as to the place of religion and morals. It was a distinctly religious institution. He knew that before he started from home, and expected nothing else. Latin, Greek, mathematics, religion, were all of a piece. They went with the old-time college life. There were, of course, state universities, 'somewhere out West,' and here and there a technical school in the East in which chapel and church were slightly regarded, and where all kinds of freedom were allowed. They lured him not. He was going where his dad had gone before him, or the uncle of his chum, or where his teacher or pastor had informed him real learning was to be had. Religion, of course. He took that for granted. More than likely Tom came from a religious home, where family prayers and the blessing at table were all in the day's work. If he had been fortunate enough to attend some academy, like Andover, Exeter, Williston, or Hotchkiss, he came to his freshman estate with the chapel and Sunday habit fixed in his soul, if not in his legs.

After all, the regimen of those days was not so severe. Chapel every morning at eight. Church on Sunday at eleven and, in the case of Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, and Bowdoin, again in the afternoon or evening. Early in the eighties the second Sunday service was in a precarious condition; later it disappeared. Too evidently planned 'to keep the students in town,' it proved

a fruitful source of irreverence and complaint. They cut it down from an hour to three quarters; the sermon, labeled 'address,' was limited to ten minutes; the name Vespers failed to check the process of decay, and so ingloriously it passed from view.

Chapel and church thus became the irreducible minimum in all the colleges, except Harvard, which adopted the voluntary system in 1886. When there was complaint it related more to what was considered the uninteresting character of the services than to the fact they were held at all. At chapel, then as now, there was a wild scramble to reach the sacred precincts in time. The students parted from the breakfast table at the last possible moment, and, to the stroke of the inexorable chapel bell — double-quick the last thirty seconds — managed to slide into their seats in the nick of time. It was a masterly piece of computation.

Not a congenial atmosphere, it must be admitted, for the inculcation of virtue, to say nothing of personal religion!

Perhaps Prexy did the best he could in the utilization of the fifteen minutes at his disposal; it is no slight job to conduct six 'prayers' a week, throughout the year, for a bunch of heedless boys. Certain it is, during the early days of the course, there was little of spontaneity or interest. Like mathematics it was a thing to be endured. Eventually habit came to the rescue and certain real values emerged. We came to know Prexy's favorite hymns and passages of Scripture, and they were good ones. They retain even now a classic sanctity. Chapel was the 'round-up' of the day. The notices of college doings lent a cheerful air to the occasion and served to show how busy and important we were.

THE LYCEUM, YALE, 1880

THE OLD CHAPEL, MIDDLEBURY

DARTMOUTH HALL

Chapel, more than any other spot, *was* the college. Once a day, at least, we became aware of ourselves as a whole. Traditions gathered there and were handed down. Professors — they attended far better forty years ago — became generally known; student leaders emerged; we went directly from chapel to classroom, lab, or gym; the day started from a common center. At Yale they had observed from time immemorial the pleasant custom of 'bowing out' the president as he passed down the center aisle. Like waves of grain before the reaper fell the rows of 'grave and reverend seniors,' each pew bowing low simultaneously, as the mighty man passed along. This was a grand sight for the freshmen and served to stimulate the ambition to become seniors themselves one day.

Altogether, 'Eight O'clock Chapel' was an institution not lightly to be esteemed. By faculty and students alike it was recognized as a symbol of college unity and life. The college to-day which, by reason of its size, lack of homogeneity, or on other grounds, abandons the good old custom, whatever may be the gains, is bound to lose something of vital worth. Why else do graduates ten years out so generally vote in favor of the compulsory system?

The arguments on the other side are familiar enough. They appear statedly in the college press, especially during the winter months, when athletic news is scarce and the editor is searching desperately for 'stuff.' In certain colleges the anti-chapel agitation has come to be regarded as one of the seasonal activities. Of late an organized propaganda has been carried on by means of an intercollegiate association which furnishes news items and editorials for the ever-willing college papers.

Emphasis is placed upon the supposed value to religion of leaving worship in all its forms to the option of the worshiper; yet one suspects the motive relates somewhat intimately to the proclivity for ease which characterizes student life in one age about as much as in another. The new thing is the element of revolt against the usages of the past. A typical utterance was that of a modern college paper which recently regaled its readers with this bit of sarcasm as to the olden time: 'It should be immediately recognized that the undergraduate of today . . . is highly averse to the mid-Victorian Sunday School aroma with its associations of hypocrisy, bigotry, and holier-than-thou attitude.'

The controversy is older than the mid-Victorians. It is at least as old as Wordsworth, who in the 'Prelude' expressed in no uncertain way his dislike of being driven to church during his Cambridge days:

> 'Was ever known
> The witless shepherd who persists to drive
> A flock that thirsts not to a pool disliked?
> A weight must surely hang on days begun
> And ended with such mockery. Be wise,
> Ye Presidents and Deans, and, till the spirit
> Of ancient time revive, and youth be trained
> At home in pious service, to your bells
> Give seasonable rest, for 'tis a sound
> Hollow as ever vexed the tranquil air,
> And your officious doings bring disgrace
> On the plain steeples of our English Church.'

Wordsworth, we gather, was more interested in abolishing prayers for the benefit of his own set than for future generations of Cambridge men. There had been a time evidently (and might be again), when

chapel bells were allowed no 'seasonable rest' by 'Presidents and Deans.' We know, as a matter of fact, that later on (possibly about the time of his tenth reunion) the poet became a rigid disciplinarian in educational and religious affairs.

Lately, so prominent an educator as Dr. G. A. Johnston Ross, of Union Theological Seminary, has taken up the cudgels in behalf of the student position. He had been preaching in several eastern colleges and in a letter to the press states that he has 'been appalled to discover that the monstrous mediævalism called "compulsory chapel" still survives in some of them.' He considers that the evil is aggravated by the fact that the compulsion extends to undergraduates only, and not to the faculty. This suggests Phillips Brooks's pleasantry, when the Harvard voluntary system was in the problematical stage, to the effect that the true plan would have been to compel the professors and forbid the students, then all would have been present.

Dr. Ross might well talk with some of the 'old grads,' to whom allusion has been made. One of them, not so old either, has commented in this wise: 'Where compulsory chapel has been a long-established practice in a college, of which students are cognizant before they enter, and where chapel is part of the general training and discipline of college life, does compulsory chapel involve, inherently, anything different from compulsory anything else? And is there not, likewise upon this very ground, considerable warrant for requiring from a student during his years of discipline exercises which may not with great appropriateness be required from members of the faculty?'

An interesting question emerges at this point, as to

the place of discipline in a college course. Should *anything* be required? Should the college be a go-as-you-please affair, except perhaps in the matter of payment of bills? And why except bills? It is the judgment of some that in present-day college life, as compared with that of forty years ago, too much is left to be determined by the indifference, inexperience, or slackness of the student, that a certain measure of discipline should be regarded as a necessary element in the development of that good judgment which alone can render freedom profitable.

We would not be understood as deprecating a fresh study of this perplexing problem. Let each generation — trustees, faculty, student body — 'work out its own salvation.' Certainly the men of the eighties should not be the judges, or men of any other particular group, least of all the undergraduate body. It is a question for each institution as a whole, to be settled in the light of its genius, tradition, present-day environment, and size.

The College Church

Something should be said about the Sunday morning service of the eighties in distinction from chapel.

Church, as we recall it and hear it described, meant usually a doleful 'piece' on the organ, by a student player, a so-called anthem by a choir not devoted to rehearsals, and a sermon by Prexy or some ministerial member of the faculty, each taking his turn. At times there were 'college pastors' — but they never were a success. Any real pastor can tell you why. As for the sermons, we must remember that always student audiences are critical, if not blasé. It is the nature of the

animal. And, it must be remarked, the professorial preachers were not averse to criticizing one another. At Amherst there was one member of the faculty (Richard H. Mather) who really knew how to preach; he had ideas, illustrations, unction, a vibrant voice and he spoke with great fluency. If he was given overmuch to 'saying it with flowers,' we boys overlooked the fact because he handed them out in a most enticing way. He was in great demand in the churches of the Connecticut Valley, and glowing were the stories of his eloquence which came back to the college halls. Professor Mather was the Junior Professor of Greek, his colleague being the famous Professor William S. Tyler. They were good friends, of course. One day a gushing young lady was telling Professor Tyler of a wonderful sermon she had heard from Professor Mather: 'Oh, quite the most beautiful thing I ever listened to!'

'What was the text?' Tyler inquired.

'Well, I don't recall the text, but it was perfectly lovely.'

'What subject, then, did Mather pursue?'

'Oh, I don't remember that either; but the sermon was wonderful from beginning to end!'

'Hum! Did he say anything about swans?'

'Swans? No, I don't recall the mention of swans.'

'Did he perhaps, allude to lilies and flowers?'

'I can't say that he did; but the sermon . . . '

'Perhaps he described red sunsets and the glory of the clouds.'

'I don't recall that either; but, oh, it was such a beautiful discourse!'

'Well,' retorted the dry old professor, 'if Mather didn't say anything about swans, or flowers, or red

sunsets, I can't imagine what he found to preach about.'

Speaking of 'Old Ty,' as he was lovingly called, (the father of the present Professor John M. Tyler) several of his own sermons became classics. Being delivered to each college generation, they came to be known and expected by name, as, for instance, 'Old Ty's Corn Sermon.' (*Amos* 8:5; 'When will the new moon be gone that we may sell corn?') With special ardor would the boys listen to this periodical discourse, because of its reference to an abandoned church, whose basement had been transformed into a saloon. On the door, one morning, we were told, appeared these lines 'by a wag':

'There's a spirit above and a spirit below;
The spirit above is the spirit of love;
The spirit below is the spirit of woe;
The spirit above is the spirit divine;
The spirit below is the spirit of *wine*.'

That closing sentiment, gotten off in the solemn cadence of the professor's New England drawl, never disappointed the audience.

Then there was the old professor who used to preach on prayer. One Sunday, when about three-quarters through, he unluckily began a sentence with the words 'Then let us pray . . . ' Immediately down went the heads of the entire senior class on the backs of the seats in front. Result — confusion in the pulpit, hilarity in the pews; but the sermon went on just the same.

The Reverend Carroll Perry, in his sketch of his father, entitled 'A Professor of Life,' describes how the imagination and zeal of the famous economist of the Williams faculty, when he appeared in the college pulpit, would sometimes outrun his prudence and

produce exactly the opposite effect from what was desired. He relates this incident:

> In his famous extempore discourse on 'Pitching One's Tent toward Sodom,' preached in the College Chapel, he was attacking tobacco. He pictured the innocent-looking cigarette; its virgin whiteness, its delicious aroma, its availability for quick solace, its charm as a social symbol, its cheapness considered as an economic product, and so forth, and so on, till the conscience was put to sleep and it seemed as if 'the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the whole house was filled with smoke.' He had poured out the baby with the bath. That sermon, just as it stood, would have netted thousands to the American Tobacco Company.[1]

After all is said and much imagined in derogation of the preaching of those days, there were sermons delivered in New England college pulpits which sobered the thinking of many a callow youth and transformed the lives of men who are occupying positions of prominence and power to-day.

Dr. Albert Parker Fitch, in his book, 'The College Course and Preparation for Life,' tells of a modern undergraduate of a certain New England university who was writing home on a Sunday afternoon, and referring to a sermon preached that morning before the university by perhaps the most distinguished public speaker now residing in New York City. The boy's appreciation of this really notable man, Dr. Fitch remarks, was a masterpiece of discriminating insight and felicitous expression. He wrote: 'We had a guy down here this morning from New York who preached forty minutes. Gee, he was rotten!' Whatever were the shortcomings

[1] *A Professor of Life*, pp. 24, 25.

and immaturities of students back in the eighties, such an opinion, if felt, would not have been expressed.

The College Prayer Meeting

The changes of forty years are more noticeable and far more interesting when we come to the voluntary activities of the students in the religious realm. Here we find ourselves in a different world. Whether it was better or worse, one hesitates to say. Values have come and values have gone; and it is a wise man who can strike the proper balance. 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' and perhaps it is too early to estimate the fruits of these later years.

In the eighties when the students were left to themselves they did all sorts of extraordinary things — that is, extraordinary from the standpoint of to-day. For example, they used to get together for prayer. Before the advent of the college Y.M.C.A., it was the custom for each class to conduct a prayer-meeting by itself. In one college the 'Y' was kept out for several years for fear these class-meetings would be discontinued, as indeed they were. It was argued that a general meeting for all the students would lose much in the way of spiritual *camaraderie* and intimate touch, and run to set addresses and invited speakers — exactly the thing that has occurred.

It all seems very strange to the student of to-day, and a man of the eighties who attempted to describe what transpired in those rooms where forty or fifty of a class would meet on Sunday nights to discuss their religious problems and pray for help, would be set down as a back-number beyond all hope. Let there be no undue glorification here. Those prayer-meetings had

their defects; they fell into ruts; they lent themselves too easily to the fellow whose religion ran to words; they were often poorly attended. But they were an earnest effort on the part of professing Christian men to give an account of themselves in the rub of college life. They served to 'maintain the spiritual glow.' There were fellows who, on glee club trips or the journeys of athletic teams, finding themselves in the midst of fierce temptation, managed to keep clean and straight because they had 'taken a stand' on Sunday night. The necessity of serving on the committee to draw up the topics for the year, and of taking one's turn at leading, was a stimulating experience. Stored up in the memory-chest of many a gray-haired college man is the time and place where he first stood on his feet and told his classmates how he needed their help in leading a religious life. By that act he was inducted at once into a circle of spiritual comradeship and friendly aid. Lapses there were, of course, and inconsistencies a-plenty; but he had made the great decision; he had started upon the Christian way.

A Bowdoin man, writing of these class gatherings for prayer observes, 'You were either a sheep or a goat. You belonged to the praying band, or you did not, and most of us did not.' That was more or less true in all the colleges, yet rarely in an invidious sense, so far as college sentiment and popularity were concerned. The sheep and the goats bleated harmoniously on most occasions, and no conflict arose. Not infrequently they were folded in the same room for sleep, and they certainly ate out of the same trough.

A graduate of a certain venerable university, although of a relatively recent date, seeking to diagnose

the religious life of the smaller New England colleges, speaks of the Christian students of the earlier day as 'separatists' in respect to the normal life of the college. 'Undergraduate prayer-meetings,' he observes, 'were in part a social outlet, in part the spontaneous, informal expression of a naïve and unreflective piety which was unconscious of the objections it had never met and the questions which it could not answer.' This rather caustic opinion cannot be based upon careful investigation; it appears to reflect the uncritical attitude it seeks to condemn. There were, of course, religious prigs in those days, who might justly be characterized as 'separatists,' but they did not control the voluntary meetings of the students for religious discussion and worship.

A sufficient reply to the charge of a 'naïve and unreflective piety' is found in the fact that the religious thought of the New England colleges in the eighties was shaped by men like Professor Francis Peabody and Phillips Brooks of Harvard, President Timothy Dwight and Professor George P. Fisher of Yale, President William DeWitt Hyde of Bowdoin, Professor John Bascom of Williams, and Professor Charles E. Garman, of Amherst, men who were in the vanguard of the progressive movement of the time. Abandoning the *a-priori* method of the older dogmatism, these teachers stood for the scientific approach to truth in every realm. 'Unreflective piety' was precisely the thing for which they did not stand. If the 'pious student' did not take his color from men of this stamp, he gathered plenty of ammunition from the discussional fray on Sunday night, or in that quiet stroll with his friend, when they were accustomed to canvass

the problems of human life and destiny. The president of one of America's oldest colleges, a man who is in the front rank of progressive thinkers, who is an avowed champion of the general trend of student life of to-day, speaking of college days forty years back, remarks, 'I remember with special interest as a very important religious influence during my life at Amherst our class prayer-meetings on Sunday evenings. I have a vivid picture in my mind of the room where they were held and I remember many of the hymns we used to sing and could give the names of a good many of the men who were in attendance and spoke. I am sure these meetings had a deep influence on all of us who attended them and I am very sorry they are only a memory at Amherst.'

This same educator pays tribute to the general college prayer meeting held during the week. 'I attended regularly the college prayer-meeting held week by week in the small chapel. I recall distinctly President Seelye's leadership and the informal talks of a number of the professors, including "Old Ty," and occasionally "Old Doc" [Dr. Edward Hitchcock] and the words of some of the students. As I recall, the room was well filled at these meetings and the services were thoroughly worth while.'

The value of these voluntary meetings varied considerably from college to college, and in the same college from year to year. Then as now, a president could make or mar the spiritual atmosphere of the institution and an unusually earnest group of men in a given class would lift the level of worship appreciably.

There is an impressive body of opinion among men of the period as to the helpful influence of 'The

Day of Prayer for Colleges,' which was a recognized institution in New England religious life. Originating, no one knows where — at Yale the record goes as far back as 1750 — the custom was to set apart the last Thursday of January for prayer in behalf of college men. Thursday was probably fixed upon because the mid-week service of the churches was ordinarily held on that night. In the colleges the entire day was set apart for the purpose. All classes were given up and religious services held the right of way. A distinguished preacher would be invited to occupy the college pulpit and the sermon would be of an evangelistic nature. The general prayer-meeting at night took on a specially solemn character, the president ordinarily in charge. The students took part more freely; there was an atmosphere of religious expectancy. Altogether the day made a solemn and helpful impression, and that in spite of those who would call it 'The Day of Whist for Colleges.' As this non-canonical phrase implies, there were those — a considerable number — who were untouched by the influences of the day and who made it a time of loafing and card-playing.

The eighties, unlike the seventies and earlier decades, did not run to out-and-out revivals; but there were periods of quickening when men would take the Christian stand, and these often started with the Day of Prayer. One pleasant circumstance, the disappearance of which we must all regret, was the fellowship between the churches and the colleges which characterized the doings of that day. More than we dared to confess, we boys were influenced by the fact that we were being 'remembered' by the folks at home.

At Harvard

A flood of light is thrown upon the religious life at Harvard, in the early years of our decade, by the call of Dr. Phillips Brooks, the great Boston preacher (later Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts) to the chair of Christian Ethics and the position of University preacher. It was a bold step when the Harvard overseers, at the suggestion of President Eliot, attempted to dislodge Dr. Brooks from Trinity Church, Boston, and from his position as the most influential preacher of the time, and to make him the head of the religious department of the university. The event served to reveal the hold that Brooks had upon the popular heart, and at the same time to open up the needs and possibilities of religious instruction and incentive in university circles. There was in the press of the country a storm of protest, which continued for weeks. In Boston, as the time approached for the decision to be made, it became a matter of front-page interest. Every one was taking sides, the matter was discussed anxiously in the clubs and in the homes of the city, thousands of letters were written; it was one of the absorbing questions of the day.

On the side of Harvard, it was urged that the university offered the greatest possible opportunity for the influencing of religious thought throughout the country and for the production of intelligent Christian leadership at a time when the Church was facing a highly critical situation. It appears they had their 'crises' then about as frequently and as violently as we do to-day. Dr. A. V. G. Allen, of the Cambridge Divinity School, in his life of Brooks, in commenting upon the call, says, 'In those days the current of tendency (in the colleges)

ran strongly against religious faith.' 'Young men were seeking to connect intellect with life.' 'It was an age of over-intellectual refinement and subtlety.' 'Reason was defeating its own end.' An editorial in the 'New York Times' called attention to the 'aptitude of the student mind to sheer off from the direction of official teachers, especially preachers.'

It all sounds very familiar. Phillips Brooks, it was firmly held in Harvard, would change all that and transform the old college into a garden of the Lord. The students themselves took that view and held a great mass meeting. Speeches were made; a petition was sent. The 'Crimson' spoke of it as 'probably the largest spontaneous meeting of students ever held here. The chapel was packed, many were turned away.' A prominent Harvard professor wrote to Brooks, 'It will give the needed experience to all our great universities and show them that in calling to their chairs the great preachers of the day, they will be laying the foundation of a revived faith among *men*.' It was urged that being an avowed Trinitarian and being called as such, Dr. Brooks would exert an evangelical influence in an institution supposedly under Unitarian control.

Brooks himself had once referred to 'the agnosticism which is weakening the religious faith and sapping the manhood of the community.' It was known among his intimate friends that he was inclined to accept the call and thereby change the current of his life in view of the need of saving the colleges from irreligion. Yet this was the period when a Harvard student by the name of Theodore Roosevelt used to spend his Sunday afternoons teaching the Bible to a class of boys in a mission school of Cambridge, an arrangement which he main-

tained for three years without missing a Sunday, and for which he was known more than once to forego a week-end house party or to leave a dance before twelve Saturday night. As young Roosevelt moved in the most popular circles of Harvard student life and as his religious devotion appears to have been regarded as a matter of course for one who considered himself a Christian, we gather that the case at Harvard may not have been as desperate as was thought.

The call to Harvard came to Dr. Brooks in 1881, when he was in his prime — his age being forty-five. His hold upon the students of his Alma Mater was beyond all question. No wonder he felt the strong urge of such an opportunity.

The decision was influenced in no small measure by the steadying word of Brooks' bosom friend, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, and his description of the college as compared with the Church as a field for preaching and pastoral service. We have not seen a more accurate portrayal of those limitations found in the college audience which impress every preacher coming from the outside. Mr. Paine wrote to his friend: 'College life is full of fun and froth and frolic and frivolity and scurrility. It is acutely critical. It turns into sport everything, sacred and profane. Life is free there first — full of joy and sparkle, full of study and sports, absorbed and preoccupied. Entire absence of variety in experience; death, marriage, children, business, failure, sickness, suffering, danger, all that makes adult life so full — none of all this enters the life of the student. Gather them together into a single audience, and it is the hardest in the world to hold in constant interest to religion.'

One cannot doubt that Dr. Brooks would have met the severe test laid down by his friend; yet it is not surprising that his judgment held him to the field of wider human relations, and Harvard did not suffer appreciably by the adverse decision. Professor Allen's comment upon the outcome is illuminating as to the deepening religious life in America's oldest university. 'There is a sense,' he says, 'in which Harvard University gained in the struggle. The whole subject of religion came up for discussion, and the old arrangement was abandoned by which one man ministered to the miscellaneous body of students. A body of chaplains was constituted, of which Mr. Brooks was one, who, coming in from outside, with a wider range on the observation and experience of life, could bring their spiritual force to bear upon the college life. This plan, which Harvard was the first to adopt, was gradually introduced into other colleges. During the next ten years of his life, Phillips Brooks seemed to have at his command the open door to student life, throughout the leading colleges in the country. It was an additional burden, but he thought of it as a glorious privilege. It was Harvard University that was sending him forth with this mission. She had placed her seal upon him as the great University preacher.'

In 1887 Harvard, together with other American colleges, was favored by a visit from the celebrated Professor Henry Drummond of Edinburgh University. What transpired, although all too briefly narrated, furnishes an interesting clue to religious conditions in the latter part of the decade. Drummond came, upon invitation, for the express purpose of quickening the moral and religious life of the university. He came

with the triple vantage-ground of his reputation as layman, explorer, and uncompromising scientist. His frank advocacy of evolution was well known. He had behind him a highly successful work among the students of his own university. There had been under his leadership at Edinburgh the best kind of college awakening, free from sensation or cant, growing naturally under favorable circumstances. His meetings had appealed peculiarly to medical students, supposedly the most difficult to reach of all. There was much curiosity as to the response he would receive at Harvard.

The references to Harvard in Drummond's biography [1] are scanty but decisive. Drummond himself wrote to a friend: 'Harvard College, the college of Lowell, Emerson, Longfellow, Fiske, etc., is *the* college of the country, and under Unitarian auspices, so that I was told it would be impossible to do anything there, but the work was really better than anywhere. I lived with one of the professors, a Unitarian, but I found no difference between him and myself, and I never saw a more lovely Christian home. I have come away with a new idea of the Unitarians, or at least of some of them.'

We judge that the effect of the Drummond meetings did not appear in its full value until a year later, when Professor Francis Peabody (who, we suspect, was the Unitarian professor referred to above) wrote to Mr. Drummond as follows: 'I venture to recall myself to you and to report to you the substantial good that has remained of your week among us here. Movements of the deepest interest have sprung from the impulse you gave, and I date from the beginning of last year a larger sense of religious responsibility.'

[1] George Adam Smith: *The Life of Henry Drummond.*

The 'movements of the deepest interest' to which Professor Peabody referred included a series of popular evangelistic services held under Harvard auspices in the Globe Theater of Boston. These attracted attention as being modeled upon the Edinburgh idea, and were the subject of not a little discussion in Harvard circles. The meetings were directed to shop-girls, clerks, and the passing throng on the street. Admission was by ticket, but Harvard students saw to it that tickets were easily obtained. Prominent preachers, like Phillips Brooks, and laymen of note were on the platform. The practical, or at least immediate effect upon the audiences appears to have been negligible. The value of the effort to the students who planned and carried the thing through was undoubted. The 'Congregationalist,' in view of the success of this Harvard effort, was led to take an optimistic view of the entire college situation. Says a writer in this paper: 'Sober-mindedness, religious earnestness, Christian aggressiveness, characterize the present generation of college students. These qualities are perhaps more intellectual and less emotional than formerly. They are manifesting themselves less in occasional revivals and more in regular methods of Christian conduct and service. Religion is, in some colleges, becoming more natural. I know of no college in which this change is greater than in Harvard. A dozen years ago the Harvard student was too much in the mood of the man in Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" whom a mule was about to kick — the attitude of humble apology. The Christian man of Harvard seems to-day to have learned that Christianity has rights which he should be willing to claim and be able to oblige his fellows to respect. It

would not have surprised me more, when I was in college, to see Memorial Hall tower floating on the Charles than to see Harvard students holding public religious services in the Globe Theater with eminent clergymen as preachers, and the president of the university bestowing the approbation of his presence. The influence of Professor Drummond and his associates has been potent. His addresses and his private conversations with students in many colleges have proved to have somewhat of that power which the series of sermons of the older President Dwight had in expelling infidel opinions from Yale College.'

As for the influence of Drummond in the other New England colleges, the testimony is all of a kind. It is best conveyed in Drummond's own letters to his friends at home.

Sept. 16, 1887. You will be glad to know that our College work has opened finely. Last Sunday we had three meetings at Williams, and again on Monday and Tuesday, though we had meant to go on Monday. The whole College turned out on Monday night after we had each spoken. To our intense surprise, one of the students rose — one of the very best and brightest men in the College, whom all knew and admired — and said, 'I want to tell you fellows that I've been thinking it's about time I changed my life, and from this time forward I am resolved to follow Christ.' You may imagine the effect. All next day we were busy dealing with the wounded; and the work is to be continued among themselves for the rest of the term.

At Dartmouth the classes are suspended for our visit, and we have already had three meetings. But I have no time to add details. . . . Our reception everywhere is most hearty.

Hartford, Sept. 23. We are now up to the neck in hard work. . . . We have had really splendid work at the Colleges, far surpassing our expectations. Any one of them would have

paid us for crossing the Ocean. We are now all together — Simpson, Greenfield, and Smith — and Sabbath first will find us at Princeton.

Yale, Sept. 30. My life is roaring along like a cataract. I have not been so busy for years, and have literally not had an hour to call my own. The Colleges have given us the most generous reception, and we have been allowed to hold meetings as often and at whatever hours we liked. The heads of the Colleges have given us hospitality, and nothing has been denied us by the faculties that could facilitate our work. The students at the larger Colleges are a remarkably fine set of men. The Princeton, Amherst, and Yale men are quite equal to the English undergraduate on the average, while the best of them will compare well with the best of our men both in brain-power and in scholarship. There is much less antipathy to Christianity than at home, and many need only to have the case fairly put to them to win them over. It has all been very wonderful and very delightful.

Yale, Oct. 7. We have got at the very heart and brain of this College, and I am sure permanent work has been done which will tell on all the colleges round when the men start out to work. They are to begin the aggressive work on a neighboring University on Sunday first. Do not infer that the whole College is in a state of wild excitement, for it is not so; nor did we want that. But the head centers are reached in every department, and they will do the rest before the term is many weeks older.

At Yale

Drummond came to Yale on Saturday, the first of October, 1887, and stayed until the following Friday. He spoke twice on Sunday and every night of the week until the time of his departure. During the day he had private conferences with the students. The 'Yale News' of October 3, when the meetings were hardly more than under way, indicates the high regard in which the Scottish professor was held. 'In expressing

the highest appreciation of the efforts and purposes of Professor Drummond and his associates, we voice the sentiment of the whole university. But the two crowded meetings yesterday in Dwight Hall manifest much plainer the high esteem in which Professor Drummond is held. He appeals directly to the reason of his hearers and not to their feelings, a method which commends itself to all thoughtful people.'

In the volume, 'Two Centuries of Religious Activity at Yale,' we find this reference to the Drummond meetings: 'The strong appeal to students of athletic and social prominence in the college on the ground of their greater influence and hence increased Christian responsibility, won for the cause of Christ a host of supporters. To Henry Drummond's abiding influence, as to that of no other man, Yale is indebted for the predominance of its Christian athletes.'

The eighties appear to have been a period of strong religious life at Yale. If the decade produced no such far-reaching measure as the founding of 'Yale-in-China' it was rich in events which deepened the religious spirit and placed Yale in the forefront of coöperative Christian activity among college men. The chronicle of events includes the following: Organization of the Yale Y.M.C.A. (1881); first convention of college Christian associations held at Yale (1882); union of academic and Sheffield religious societies in Y.M.C.A. (1884); graduate committee of Y.M.C.A. established (1885); Mr. J. E. K. Studd, the Cambridge, England, athlete, conducts special meetings (1885); Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, visits Yale (1885); Dwight Hall dedicated for religious purposes, the first building of its kind in New England (1886); Dwight Hall

lecture course established (1886); general secretaryship of Y.M.C.A. established (1886); White Cross Society formed (1886); Yale sends delegation to the first Northfield Student Conference (1886); Professor Drummond conducts special meetings (1887); students assume control of Sunday evening services (1887); Yale Mission on Grand Avenue, New Haven, founded (1888); Oxford Club (Methodist) formed (1889); Grand Avenue Boys' Club founded by Class of 1892 (1889); Catholic Club formed (1889); Moody at Yale (1889).

From the above it would appear that 1886 was the banner year. Has it been equalled since? Looking back upon the decade as a whole, a member of the present Yale faculty, who for a time was College Pastor, characterizes the intellectual atmosphere as 'mediocre,' the moral atmosphere 'high,' religious 'high.'

Yale seems to have made a success of the Y.M.C.A. from the start. Established as a means of unifying and focusing the voluntary religious activities of the college it developed into a rallying center for all sorts of new things. It was fortunate in enlisting the active interest of the president and of certain prominent professors. The student leaders were wisely chosen. Among the general secretaries of the period we note the name of A. A. Stagg, '88, the famous baseball pitcher.

'Dwight Hall' undoubtedly was a great help in those years of formative religious life, under what had come to be known as 'modern conditions.' All honor to the men who had the vision to discuss and then achieve the project of securing a worthy building upon the campus which might become the common center of all the religious activities of the university. To such student leaders as E. E. Aiken '81, C. E. Loughridge '83,

and J. B. Reynolds '84, in association with President Porter, Yale owes much.

The Class Deacons at Yale are a unique institution and deserve special mention. Originating as far back as 1812 (possibly as early as 1753), through a long series of decades 'they had become a traditional and living factor in campus life.' There were three deacons for each class, chosen by the class as a whole and set apart for the entire course for religious leadership and incentive. So popular became the office and so intimate its bearings upon membership in certain secret societies, that occasionally men were chosen for other than strictly spiritual reasons. The deacons represented both the College Church and the student body. Automatically they became a committee for the religious activities and meetings, especially after Dwight Hall was built. They officiated at the communion service; their office held them to a high standard of word and action. The list of deacons of the eighties reveal such well-known names in the world of achievement as the Reverend Lucius O. Baird, D.D., of Seattle, the Reverend Chauncey W. Goodrich, D.D., of Paris, Professor William Adams Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Samuel H. Fisher of New York, Bishop Edward L. Parsons of California, and Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania.

It was during this period that an effort was made to unify the deacons of the various classes by organizing them into a secret society known as O.D.P., with its seal and ritual and solemn vows and mysterious initiation, a movement foredoomed to failure, which, originating in 1887, struggled through six inglorious years. Secrecy and exclusiveness were foreign to the spirit of

the institution. The society became a joke about the campus, with hints of midnight 'orgies,' and one night the *coup de grâce* was administered when, as the freshman deacons were about to be initiated, a company of the ungodly abducted the initiates to the grammar school lot where they put them through a mock ceremony with considerable bodily chastisement. When this nonsense was gotten out of their systems the deacons settled down to their old-time usefulness.

A word as to Moody at Yale, in 1885. The third of May of that year is burned into the memory of many a Yale man. Details differ, but in so far as the remarkable scene in Battell chapel can be pieced together — and one of the writers of this book was on the spot, an eager observer — this is what occurred. Moody had just two days to give the college, Saturday and Sunday. Saturday served to prepare the way; Christian men were aroused from their lethargy, non-Christian men became aware that an extraordinary character was in their midst. Sunday morning Moody sat in the pulpit with President Porter, and after the usual devotional exercises, preached the sermon. He appeared ill-at-ease. It was a formal academic occasion; the setting was not of his kind; the president did not know how to introduce a man of his type; women and curious strangers were in the gallery at the rear. On the whole the effect was neutral — just another service in Battell. But Moody invited them all to come in the evening and said the meeting would be limited to men.

That night the chapel was packed, and Moody was in his element. With no one but himself in the pulpit, he 'ran' the meeting in his own inimitable way. He made them sing. He prayed straight into their hearts.

He preached his famous sermon on 'Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap,' but he gave it a new twist for college men and it went to the mark. It has been said that while a college audience is critical, deep below the superficial criticism of the student is appreciation of genuine sincerity. 'Let college men be convinced of a speaker's real worth and unflinching courage, and he will receive a more sympathetic response than from most audiences.' Moody said plain things that night; he pictured the evil seed that young men will sow in their lives, he made vivid the crop of later years. Battell has rarely if ever seen a more solemn audience than when the evangelist brought his sermon to a close.

An after-meeting was announced, and all who wished to go were urged to do so during the singing of the hymn. Practically no one left; the chapel seemed as full as before. Moody expressed his gratification over their interest, spoke briefly of the importance of an open confession of Christ, and asked all who desired the help of God to raise their hands. Not a hand went up. Dead silence. Moody then said very quietly, 'There are too many here; a lot of you fellows are not here for business, you are looking on from curiosity and you are hindering the Spirit of God. We will sing another hymn, and I want every man to leave the house who is not willing to face squarely his obligations to God.'

The audience rose, the hymn was sung, and scarcely a hundred passed through the doors. Moody made another appeal. He said, 'I have given you fair warning; you know just what I mean, and yet you stay. If any of you want our prayers, raise your hand.' Again not

a hand went up. Then the masterful courage of the man came to the front. He told them of a similar experience at Cambridge, England, and how the tide turned after some three hundred mothers had met in Alexander Hall to pray for university men as 'Some Mother's Sons.' He said that the Cambridge gymnasium where the meetings were held, was packed to the walls. At one side was a gallery used as a fencing-room, approached by a long flight of steps from the gymnasium below. At the close of the sermon he asked any who would stand with Christ *to rise and go up into the gallery*. Moody told how amidst a profound silence a young Trinity man rose, faced the crowd of men, and deliberately ascended the stairs. In a moment, he said, scores of men were on their feet, following him to that upper room. Many that night made the decision of their lives.

Such was the story, told in a natural, quiet way. What was coming? Moody said, 'I have made it too easy. We need a sterner test. I want all of you who desire our prayers to come forward and stand in the space here before the pulpit.' A moment's hesitation, then the boys began to come down the aisles, until the space was well filled. There was no further urging, no emotional appeal, but those who came forward were asked to remain with any who would like to help them take the final step. Then Yale saw a strange sight. Veteran professors, reserved and supposedly cold, were seen talking eagerly with the boys in groups of twos and threes. Professor George P. Fisher, perhaps the most reserved of them all, was observed in the corner of a pew, with his arm about the shoulders of an under-classman, earnestly engaging him in prayer.

Such things actually happened at Yale in the eighties — but not often.

Classroom Religion

Professor Edward C. Moore, since 1905 chairman of the Harvard Board of Preachers and in general charge of the religious activities of the university, in a recent article in the 'Crimson' pays just tribute to the devotion of Harvard men — professors and students — in the pursuit of the truth, each in his appropriate sphere. He says, 'After all, the fundamental religion of the place is the sincerity, the enthusiasm, the self-sacrificing devotion with which the men in it pursue every kind of truth and every kind of good. What are called services of religion are no substitute for this. They are, at most, means and aids to this real religion of the place.' Our impression is that in so far as the present generation of college men have improved upon the past, it is precisely at that point. Scholarship and hard work, while not a substitute for religion, are to-day giving to religion a deeper and truer worth. The gain in intellectual thoroughness and honesty is beyond all question. Concentration upon one's studies is urged to-day not only as essential to college standing and the obtaining of a degree, but also as a test of character and a prerequisite of success in the outside world.

This being the case, should we expect the classroom to lend itself to the inculcation of religion in the ordinary acceptance of the word? Obviously not, if by inculcation we mean the pressing of motive and appeal. It appears to be a case of rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's. For practical purposes there is bound to be

a distinction between the things of the head and the things of the heart. One can believe in a larger human synthesis without thrusting it upon the pupil's attention at every point. Such an attempt, indeed, would defeat its own ends. At the same time religion has a better chance as a background of thought in certain classrooms than in others. Professor Moore, in the article referred to above, calls attention to the fact that the areas of devotion of many instructors, a devotion which they seek to impart to their students, are indefinitely remote from what used to be called spiritual interests. He cites this as a reason why certain professors have never developed an interest in the religious welfare of the university. The alibi impresses us as valid for the classroom but not for the chapel. It would appear that these professors are experiencing an atrophying of the spiritual sense. We suspect Professor Moore places his finger closer to the spot when he intimates that a good many of our modern teachers are suffering from 'an inordinate accentuation of the critical and self-centered mind.'

How was it forty years ago? Probably a far larger proportion of the faculties of the New England colleges were made up at that time of men who sought to make the classroom atmosphere conducive to Christian thinking and living. Some did it more wisely than others. Doubtless many of those who held the chairs of Philosophy and Ethics — or, as they were called then, Mental and Moral Science — undertook to discuss and commend the Christian system in a way that would make the modern student, to say nothing of the teacher, gasp. The spirit of the times not only rendered such a procedure possible but occasionally popular.

Theological interest and discussion were in the air. Ministers abounded on nearly all the faculties of the New England colleges. In the Department of Philosophy they had the ground pretty much to themselves. President Porter and Professor Ladd of Yale, President Seelye and Professor Garman of Amherst, President Bartlett and Professor Noyes of Dartmouth, President Hopkins of Williams, and President Hyde of Bowdoin, were ordained Congregational clergymen.

What these men did in their classes will appear to the present generation almost beyond belief. For instance, President Mark Hopkins taught the 'Shorter Westminster Catechism' to the senior class; and what is more, he made it one of the most interesting subjects in the course. But then, he was *Mark Hopkins*, the Prince of American educators. We can imagine that almost any subject would be thrilling under his magic touch. His method may be of interest to-day. It is evident he worked along lines of his own profound convictions. One Williams man writes, 'I think the student who had the privilege of his instruction and those who read his volumes would realize that he seemed to open natural paths of reason through the supreme verities of religion. While he was more constructive than argumentative, when it came to contrasting philosophical views he often spoke with a deep earnestness, especially when the character of God was involved or under discussion. He brushed aside all technicalities as to the ground of moral obligation and rested all on the infinite, unchanging goodness of God.'

We are told that Dr. Hopkins did not make the mistake of pressing a religious truth too far in classroom

discussion. He never would put a student in a corner, or carry an argument to the point where he might arouse the antagonism of the student before the rest of the class. When some individual had indicated a skeptical, fractious spirit, Dr. Hopkins would later go to the young man's room, perhaps on a winter evening, knock at the door, and possibly startle a group of card players, make a social call, and if an opportunity came, he would engage the objecting student in conversation which would open up the question that had been left unfinished in the classroom.

While speaking of this matchless thinker and teacher, it should be said that a sympathetic human quality pervaded all his contacts with students, and was especially apparent in the classroom when problems of a personal nature came to the front. A characteristic incident is furnished by a Williams man of '84. A prominent member of the class, brilliant and lovable, had been killed in a toboggan accident, and the tragic death had made a profound impression upon the whole college. 'As the saddened classmates assembled at the customary hour to meet Dr. Hopkins, it was evident that the old man shared our sorrow in full measure. He looked in silence for a few moments at the chair which our beloved friend had occupied, now empty and draped in black, and then, stretching out a long arm and pointing with unsteady finger to the pathetic memorial, he said in a voice that quivered, but with an inflection that gave a triumphant denial to the question, "Is it possible that that is all?" Then in the Socratic method, which he had long used so effectively, he presented to us convincingly one of the mighty arguments for immortality. No further word was needed

to persuade us that our splendid comrade had not ceased to exist when the toboggan struck the bridge at the foot of the hill.'

It cannot be said that President Julius Seelye, at Amherst, succeeded in making the Catechism popular. Not content with using the document as a basis for the discussion of great themes, he insisted upon our committing it to memory, word for word, and we got the impression that verbal accuracy counted for more than correct opinion. That blemish, undoubtedly, explained our failure to respond. We ought to have been interested in the question, 'What is the chief end of man?' — could anything be of greater portent to the youthful mind? — but as a matter of fact we were not — at least most of us were not.

Still worse was it at Dartmouth where the president, Dr. Samuel C. Bartlett, assumed a dominating mental attitude which erected a barrier between him and the students who had begun to suspect there were more things in philosophy than their president was willing to admit. If the oblique approach to truth was desirable in those days the frontal attack was foredoomed to failure. A certain professor of physics in that decade instigated much useless skepticism among the boys, not to mention a disposition 'to smile within,' by remarking after his most successful experiments, 'Behold the wonderful works of the Creator!'

The influence for wholesome religion and a high ethical code exerted by President Hyde of Bowdoin, is well known. He was the most modern of the ministerial group of executives and teachers, possibly as modern as most of the men in philosophical chairs to-

day; yet he unhesitatingly expounded religion behind the classroom desk.

Greater than them all, from the standpoint of power to persuade and carry conviction, was Charles E. Garman of Amherst. Toward the end of his course Garman did not hesitate to use the direct route in impressing religious views. This is brought out impressively by Principal Stearns, of Andover, in his book 'The Challenge of Youth,' from which quotation already has been made. By way of enforcing the point that youth is essentially religious, he says of Garman's classroom in 1887: 'If we were deemed crazy during the early months of this unusual course, we must have seemed hopeless lunatics to our mates as we neared its end. . . . During those never-to-be-forgotten days the atmosphere became charged with a veritable spiritual electricity. We seemed to move in a new world in which the ordinary interests of student life became wholly inconsequential. The fact that the most important ball-game of the year was scheduled for the afternoon would be almost forgotten; and the noon meal, if we were fortunate enough to find one waiting for us, furnished only a further opportunity to continue the discussions begun in the morning's recitation hour. Under the leadership and inspiration of a master-teacher we were dealing at first hand with the great facts of religion and the spiritual world, and in terms that had meaning to the minds of youth. And that experience was the most exhilarating and satisfying we had ever known. The more modern teacher of philosophy, reveling in the cold abstractions of agnosticism, has never been able to evoke an enthusiasm of this kind.'

Education for Character

What shall be said of character as the main objective of the college course? Must the old ideal be given up? Was it ever justified from an educational point of view? Must not the educational process, when it reaches the college grade, be freed from the necessity of advocating any particular theory of life? Should not the training of our youth, in the more advanced stages, be an 'enterprise of learning,' pure and simple?

The issue is before the American public in a manner that will not be denied. Not less than three New England college presidents could be named who by inference or by open statement, during the past few years, have aligned themselves on the side of those who decry what they consider to have been an excessive emphasis upon character as a goal in education. One of these maintains that character should be regarded as a 'by-product of education, an incidental result of intelligence.'

This is not the place to discuss the theoretical question as to the relationship between intelligence and character. Let the philosophers fight that out among themselves. They have been at it since the days of Socrates (if we are right in understanding the Greek sage as teaching that knowledge and virtue are identical), and the breaking of lances goes merrily on. On the side of character certain opinions came to the front in the years when Matthew Arnold was preaching his gospel of culture for the saving of the world, and these might be kept in mind at least as landmarks in this age-long debate. At that time a circular of our National Bureau of Education cited the French economist Proal as saying, 'Morality is not an attribute of thought, but

of will; spiritual beliefs and respect of God are necessary.' About that time Herbert Spencer also lifted up his voice, asserting; 'A mere culture of intellect is hardly at all operative upon conduct. Intellect is not a power, but an instrument.'

Meanwhile the plain people in the street and in the home (especially the latter, when a son is headed for college) are dealing with the matter in their own practical way. They are all on the side of the old-time stressing of character. They have become convinced that high intellectual training is no guarantee of exalted moral character. It appears they have heard of Nero, of Benedict Arnold, and Aaron Burr, not to mention Milton's Satan, and other refined rascals, who knew all there was to be learned and yet brought untold misery upon the race. Since witnessing the spectacle of the best-educated nation in history precipitating the worst war in history, these people of the street and newspaper offices have become incorrigible. They are fairly clamoring for a type of education that makes for righteousness as the main thing in life. The presidents and professors may continue their academic debate, but for the most of us the matter was settled long ago; for some, as long ago as the eighties. Listen to some voices of that ancient past.

In all the discussion over Phillips Brooks at Harvard it appears to have been taken for granted, as one Harvard man put it, that 'the college is the place for the molding of character.' President Dwight of Yale, in his Phi Beta Kappa address of 1887, emphasized 'the manly sense of duty as the primary object of education' and pleaded for the union of the intellectual and emotional elements in right relations. Dr. Hopkins left

the impression upon all his pupils that religion is a natural and necessary part of every human being, and he showed also that it lies at the very top of his nature, 'the roof-tree, as it were, the crown and glory of personality.' A Williams professor quotes from the centennial address of Dr. C. A. Stoddard, 'Williams College has always sought character and learning in its instructors, but *character first*.' President Hyde of Bowdoin, in an address to the Yale freshmen of 1882, told them that religion was part of being human.

The evidence serves to connect the highest aspiration of those days with the best practical thinking of the present time. The word character, as we recall it, was rarely used. Righteousness, duty, were the watchwords of the time. Knowledge, of course, or most of us would not have been in college. But how to translate knowledge into action that would glorify the spiritual life and heal the sorrows of the world — that was the supreme problem of the serious-minded. John Drinkwater was not writing poetry in those days, but in his 'Prayer' he expresses what a good many college men of the eighties were led to desire as they drew near the end of their course:

'Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,
Grant us the strength to labor as we know,
Grant us the purpose, ribb'd and edged with steel,
To strike the blow.
Knowledge we ask not — knowledge thou has lent,
But, Lord, the will — there lies our bitter need;
Give me to build above the deep intent
The deed, the deed.'

CHAPTER VII

STUDENT LIFE

It was during the eighties that the social life of college students began to yield to the influence of civilization. Gradually it began to take on something of its modern aspect, but the process was very slow.

At the beginning of the decade dormitory life in most of the colleges was at its best a rude sort of existence. Students were obliged to rely upon themselves for the performance of those homely duties that are now generally done by hired help. For example, each man was his own chambermaid — with the result that beds were rarely made oftener than once a week, and sometimes not oftener than once a term. Rooms were seldom swept. Slops were deposited in various receptacles in the hallway for the janitor to remove, or they were thrown out of the windows, to the imminent peril of passers-by. Baths were taken in a tin foot-tub or in the wash-bowl, which, together with a tin or earthenware pitcher was kept in a boxlike contrivance with hinged cover known as a 'sink.' There was no running water in the dormitories — no stationary tubs, no showers. The water supply was the college well and each student carried to his room what water was needed. It is surprising to-day to look back and remember how little was needed.

The rooms were heated with foolish little stoves, some burning wood, some coal. The coal-bin or woodpile — as the case might be — was usually in the closet. An average closet would easily hold half of a ton of

coal and leave room for one's wardrobe above the bin. Minor items of wearing apparel were thrown on top of the coal, and a case is recalled when a pair of shoes was inadvertently consumed with the fuel.

As might be expected, conditions differed considerably in different colleges. The city colleges saw the introduction of the so-called 'modern conveniences' sooner than those of the country. Dartmouth, drawing a large proportion of her students from the farms of New Hampshire and Vermont, was a fair type of the country college, to which belonged also Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, and Wesleyan, while Harvard, Yale, and Brown were more nearly in line with the urban civilization of the times.

Hazing was practiced, but was not so brutal as during the preceding decade. A room was shown in one of the dormitories at Dartmouth as having been the scene, several years earlier, of an encounter in which a freshman was beaten with Indian clubs so soundly that he died from the effects. There was also a tradition that, not long before, a particularly obnoxious freshman had been boxed in a packing case and deposited upon the rear platform of the southbound night express at the old Norwich station — and that the unfortunate youth was not discovered until the train had reached a point far down in Connecticut.[1]

At Bowdoin in 1881 a suit for ten thousand dollars' damages was filed by a Portland, Oregon, attorney against seven students for injuries to his son in hazing. The hazing of the eighties, however, sought for the most part to bestow indignities rather than personal violence. A freshman with a mustache or a beard was

[1] W. D. Quint, '*The Story of Dartmouth.*'

sometimes caught and half of the offensive decoration shaved away. Freshmen were often put under the college pump. Others were made to stand upon a table and sing a song or impersonate a dog and go about the room on hands and feet, growling and barking. A Bowdoin man of that period[1] recalls 'Black Saturday Night' when the sophomore class went through the college and gave the freshmen an initiation. He says, 'Every freshman was entitled to one ducking, and the notoriously cheeky freshmen were visited by a hazing society, known as "Phi Chi," and were properly disciplined.' At Yale and at Dartmouth the freshman societies Delta Kappa and Sigma Epsilon, which, between them, took in practically all the class, offered a rare opportunity for the sophomores to put the incoming freshmen through an initiation which was in effect a species of hazing. The initiates were blindfolded, jostled about, made to walk off the end of a plank into a tub of water, subjected to various tonsorial atrocities with the barbers' clippers, carried in a coffin, branded with a 'red-hot iron' — that is to say, a piece of ice, which to a blindfolded man has much the same sensation — stamped upon the forehead with the Greek letters of the society, in nitrate of silver, which resisted all efforts of scrubbing and remained for days as black as the ace of spades.

The rushes between the two lower classes were fierce and uncompromising. They were of various kinds. At Yale the 'push rush' and the 'fence rush' were in favor at this period. They occurred in September the night before the beginning of the college year, and were the freshman's introduction to college life. A crowd of

[1] Edgar A. Achorn.

juniors, the traditional aiders and abettors of all freshmen, would march under the windows of the newcomer, giving the Yale cheer, followed by the name of his class. This was an invitation to prepare for the rush, and an offer of moral support.

The rush occurred on the Hopkins Grammar School lot. 'Each class,' as one Yale man of that period has expressed it, 'was in the most perfect sardine formation. The members . . . put their arms around each others' bodies. They backed each other up so perfectly that the different files not only stepped together but had to breathe together — that is, if there was opportunity to breathe at all.'[1] When the two classes, massed in this formation, met, the impact was terrific. Something had to give way. Generally it was the freshmen — unless their greater bulk or superior brawn outweighed their lack of experience.

The 'fence rush' sometimes followed the 'push rush.' In this the freshmen, also coached by the juniors, formed on the sidewalk in front of the Grammar School, two or three abreast, and tried to march to Elm Street, one block distant. During the migration the sophomores descended upon them and threw as many of them as possible into the street. The freshmen clung to the fence — and the fence usually followed the freshmen out into the middle of the thoroughfare. But they went back, again and again, and some of them usually succeeded in reaching Elm Street, where they set up their class cheer and felt that they had proved their right to exist.

Another feature of this first night was the wrestling matches between champions of the two classes. Here,

[1] Camp and Welch: *Yale: Her Campus, Class-Rooms and Athletics.*

again, the sophomores had the advantage, for they knew who their strong men were: the freshmen only guessed at theirs, and their champion, often self-appointed, might be either a discovery or a failure.

At Dartmouth and at several of the other colleges the 'cane rush' and the 'hat rush' were in vogue. The formal cane rush generally occurred a few nights after the beginning of the fall term, and here, as elsewhere, the freshmen were coached and urged on by the juniors. The new class was allowed the advantage of massing about the cane — which was a stout hickory banger — and when the signal was given the sophomores leaped upon them and tried to take the cane. Often they were stripped to the waist and greased with lard, or oil, to make it easier to elude the grasp of their adversaries and also to preserve their coats and shirts for future usefulness. After a strenuous rush one seldom retained a full equipment of clothing, and the campus, next morning, generally looked like a rag-picker's yard. These rushes sometimes lasted two hours or more [1] and were continued until one of the classes secured possession of the cane and rushed it up into a dormitory. There the outer doors were locked, the gas in the hallway lighted, and the few remaining members of the enemy class who had succeeded in clinging to the cane or of mixing with the crowd that surrounded it were taken off and promptly ejected. The cane was usually cut up into thin cross-sections and distributed among the victors.

The last formal cane rush at Dartmouth was between the classes of '86 and '87 in the autumn of '83.

[1] The rush at Dartmouth between '82 and '83 lasted two hours and forty minutes.

It occurred in broad daylight and began in the middle of the street, in front of the old college buildings. The street was lined with equipages from the town and countryside and with crowds on foot who had come to see the fight. After a two hours' struggle the sophomores, as usual, forced the cane up into Reed Hall, the injured were cared for, and the unconscious ones, of whom there were several, were revived by dashing buckets of cold water upon them.[1]

There were also impromptu cane rushes and hat rushes which occurred whenever a freshman was bold enough to carry a cane or to wear a silk hat. These usually occurred after chapel, the offender being attacked as he issued forth. A sophomore sporting a silk hat might be attacked by freshmen, if the freshmen had strength enough to justify the seizure. The silk hat, like the cane, was, if captured, cut into pieces and distributed among the conquerors.

At Williams it was customary for the freshmen to gather around the Soldiers' Monument on the top of 'Consumption Hill' and attempt to have a class sing. This was a common meeting-place for upper-classmen when vocally inclined — but like 'The Fence' at Yale it was not supposed to be profaned by freshmen, unless the freshmen had won the right by force of arms — and fists. Accordingly, the gathering of the freshmen was in the nature of a challenge and precipitated a rush, in which the sophomores tried to dislodge them.

As might have been expected in a society so crude, little respect was shown for authority. 'Wooding up,' during recitation was a demonstration performed by stamping the feet or shuffling them over the floor.

[1] W. D. Quint: *The Story of Dartmouth.*

Stamping usually expressed applause, while shuffling indicated disapproval. At Williams any display of excitement in Professor Perry's classroom, took the form of what was known as the 'Peri Howl,' which has already been described in Chapter V.

Some of the classrooms were riotous beyond belief. At Brown a certain unpopular instructor — but a few years out of college — was, whenever he turned his back to write upon the blackboard, besieged with paper wads, torpedoes, and even lighted firecrackers. This persecution continued until the faculty asked for the tutor's resignation 'in order that he might not be subjected to humiliation at the hands of the students.'[1]

Amherst men of the eighties will all remember 'Monty,' and most of them, as they look back, will have a feeling of shame at the thought of how they abused him. He was a fine scholar and a kind-hearted gentleman — too kind-hearted by far to manage the young rascals who filled his classroom. He taught the French language and literature and was one of the first college professors in this country to introduce the conversational method in the classroom.

The boys persistently misunderstood his directions, and when he said to Monsieur B——, 'Allez vers la planche noir,' Monsieur B—— would seize the eraser and before he could be stopped would sweep it through the midst of the questions or topics which Monty had carefully written upon the board for the next day's lesson. When he had done as much damage as he thought necessary, he would heed the excited remonstrances of the professor and apologize profusely for his mistake.

[1] *Memories of Brown.*

Monty believed in mastering the thought as well as the language of the text, and was continually being led by the class into discussions which relieved them from the necessity of reciting. The photographs on the wall of the classroom afforded abundant opportunity for questions, and it was astonishing how eager the fellows were to learn more about the subjects which were represented. On one occasion, after the class had kept their instructor talking for some fifteen minutes about the bronze horses over the entrance to Saint Mark's in Venice—hurling at him one question after another whenever he took up his book to begin the lesson—a student in the front row gained another minute's time, and an uproarious 'wooding up', by asking innocently, 'Professor, did I understand you to say that these horses were stuffed?'

For a year or two, while Amherst was looking for a worthy successor to Professor Root as teacher of physics, the classes were conducted by a mild-mannered old gentleman who was deserving of better treatment than he received. One day, when explaining the action of the camera, he had the room darkened except for a small aperture in one of the shutters, and showed the class that the image of the trees outside appeared inverted when thrown upon a sheet on the opposite side of the room. 'Now,' said he, 'young gentlemen, if one of you should go out and walk across the field of vision, you would appear to us to be standing upon your head.' A member of the class of '84, a famous all-round athlete, quickly asked if he might go out and try, and as quickly obtained consent. Going out, he walked on his hands across the grass before the shuttered window, and thus belied Professor H——'s prophecy. The

professor — whose eyesight was not the best — seemed dazed. He took off his glasses, wiped them, and put them on again, while the class kept silence, waiting to see what he would say. At last he began, 'Young gentlemen, there must be something wrong . . .' The rest of his remarks were drowned in the uproar that followed.

Disapproval of an instructor was outspoken. For a severe or supposedly unfair examination, as well as for other causes, 'horning' was resorted to. This occurred at night and consisted of a serenade on tin horns under the windows of the offending professor. Often the crowd, inflamed by the noise and the mob spirit, was not content with a single victim. Other professors who had gained the enmity of the students were also visited and sometimes even the president did not escape. In a certain historic case,[1] a president, unwilling to submit tamely to such indignity, suspended a student who had taken a prominent part in the demonstration — with the result that the entire class withdrew from recitations, and it was only after prolonged negotiations that the affair was adjusted, the class signing a paper that purported to be an apology but that was so modified before the signing, that it amounted to little more than a confession of participation. Two years later, in the same college, another class horned one of the professors with practically the same sequel. In those days the colleges could not afford to lose any considerable number of students for any cause. It was a period that is still referred to at Dartmouth as 'the roaring eighties.'

Contempt for authority extended naturally to the officers of the law. At Harvard the age was marked by

[1] The class of '83 at Dartmouth.

almost continual clashes between the students and the constabulary of Cambridge and of Boston. At Dartmouth, when the village constable attempted to arrest a student for disorderly conduct it was a common occurrence for a crowd of fellow students to come to the rescue and rush the officer of the law through osage hedges and waste spaces until the prisoner had succeeded in breaking away. In these encounters the officer suffered not only great indignity, but numerous bruises and often the loss of a portion of his clothing. It took a brave man in those days to be a constable in a college town.

The barnstorming theatrical companies that ventured to play to student audiences were assisted in various ways. The students usually massed in the front seats, carrying concealed horns, which they brought out and used indifferently to express applause or dissatisfaction, or simply to enliven the performance. Men of that period will recall the 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' troupe that toured New England and will remember with a smile the help that the actors usually received. As, for example, when Little Eva lay on her death-bed surrounded by her weeping family, and a student arose and asked in a loud voice, 'Isn't there a physician in the house?' In another popular melodrama of that day, the heroine, hearing her pursuers battering on the door, conceals herself in a tall old-fashioned clock. The door is at length broken in, and the ruffians proceed to search for their victim, when a student calls out from the front row, 'Look in the clock!' If interest in the performance lagged, the crowd sang college songs and occasionally took possession of the stage, driving the actors into the wings.

Class suppers were always riotous occasions. An instance is recalled in which a class going from Hanover over the old Passumpsic Railroad to Montreal, an all-night's journey, were given a special car — an antiquated day coach — on the rear of an 'accommodation train' stopping at all way-stations. The crowd was not slow to take possession of the train, and the conductor, after a futile effort, abandoned whatever notion he might have had of preserving the peace. At each stop the mob disembarked, seized what movable furniture or goods lay about the station, and piled it in the aisle of their 'special car' to be distributed or exchanged for similar plunder throughout the night at other stations along the line. Dawn brought many surprises to the station agents on that section of road and it was long before the rightful owners came into possession of their property.

The next night, as the crowd returned, the hilarity languished through exhaustion and became merely spasmodic. But when the train stopped for breakfast at a depot restaurant on the edge of the queen's dominions and the proprietor overcharged the students for a very poor meal, the mob spirit broke out again and such loose articles as might be taken away, including several framed pictures from the walls, were seized before the proprietor's eyes while he stood by in helpless rage and shook his fist at the departing train. The trainmen, who had often suffered at his hands, seemed to enjoy his discomfiture and made no effort to delay the train while he invoked the arm of the law in the person of the local policeman. He had his revenge by writing the president a letter that fairly scorched the paper on which it was written. The president called the class

together and told them that they must make restitution. The class expressed concern and appointed a committee to investigate the matter, the chairman of the committee being the ringleader in the atrocities of the breakfast room. The committee deliberated several days, finally discovered one cheap picture under the chairman's bed, and returned it to the restaurateur by express, charges collect. The incident was closed.

A crowd of students returning from a class supper or any other celebration always brought with them signs, barber's poles, and other similar loot. The moral concept in a student's mind at such times forms a curious study in psychology. The thought does not seem to occur to him that the stealing of signs is theft, though the stealing of any of the ordinary necessities of life is properly held in contempt. Here is a case in point:

A country boy from one of the New Hampshire farms found himself, in the moist spring season, with holes in the soles of his shoes and no money to repair them. He was tempted one day to take from the miscellaneous collection of rubbers that always stood in the entry to the gym, a pair that seemed to fit him. The theft was discovered and he was ostracized from his circle of acquaintances — branded as 'a cheap skate.' But the curious feature of the situation was that the most violent of the denunciations that were heaped upon him came from a youth who only a few days before had taken from an impecunious barber in a neighboring town a striped pole — the insignia of his trade — worth at least twenty times the price of a pair of rubbers, and the theft was regarded as a good joke.

The mob spirit was rather stronger and was carried

to greater lengths in the eighties than to-day. Common decency as well as the rights of personal property were held in far less esteem. To be considered a gentleman was, to many, a mark of effeminacy. So it happened that any student demonstration was likely to reach a stage at which the more judicious, after trying in vain to keep the crowd within bounds, were obliged to steal away to their rooms and leave their excited companions to do their worst.

A midnight jollification at Dartmouth is recalled, following a victory of the baseball nine. After all the drygoods boxes, kerosene and sugar barrels, and other unguarded inflammable material had been consumed and the crowd had scattered, a few irresponsibles insisted on going into the chapel, dragging out the pulpit and burning it in the embers of the expiring bonfire. It is only fair to say that student opinion as a whole condemned this act.

At Brown, during the early eighties, there was a veritable epidemic of bonfires. For no special purpose except the love of excitement a student would sacrifice his mattress or an old lounge, soak it in kerosene and burn it at night upon the campus. This was a signal for the cry of 'Fire! Heads out!' and forthwith the windows of the dormitories blossomed with heads and rang with the soul-stirring music of tin horns. The janitor and his assistants — the 'slaves' or *servi*, as they were called — always rushed to put out the fire, using buckets of water from the college well, and they were always made the target for a shower of missiles from the dormitory windows. An instance is recorded in which one of these faithful henchmen of the college had an arm broken by something that was thrown at

him. On at least one occasion the midnight fire was accompanied by the wild ringing of the college bell. Some rascally student had cut the customary bell-rope and had attached a cord which reached to one of the windows of a near-by dormitory, where it could be easily manipulated. As the plotter had taken the precaution to lock the belfry door after his departure and to fill the key hole with iron filings, he was able to continue the clamor for nearly an hour unmolested.

In the autumn season, if other fuel failed, there were always the dry leaves, which lay thick upon the ground about the college buildings. A student, thirsting for excitement, would open his little stove, take out a shovelful of live coals, and hurl them from his window into these dry leaves, with the usual cry of 'Fire! Heads out!' And heads would come out straightway — with accompanying horns. It is a wonder that the buildings were not burned down in some of these impromptu blazes — but as President Faunce (who was a student at Brown in the Class of '80) once said of Hope College, 'It had never burned down and we believed it never could.'

Frequently a group of students would purchase or purloin a decrepit express or delivery wagon, load it with tar barrels or other inflammable material, drive it upon the campus by night, and set fire to it. One of the most dramatic of these incidents was the burning of the 'one-hoss shay,' an ancient chariot which had served President Robinson and three preceding presidents and which was stored in the college barn. This occurred the night following a ball-game and was offered up as a special sacrifice to the goddess of Victory. In spite of the most determined efforts of the 'slaves'

to save the historic equipage, it went up in flames and made the night one long to be remembered.[1]

Taking a horse or a cow into chapel and tying the unfortunate beast behind the desk was a common prank, but the thing had been done so often by our grandfathers that it was considered rather stale.

At Brown, early in the eighties, a cow belonging to Governor Taft was pastured upon the campus. The students resented this transgression on what they considered their preserves and one night took the cow up on the third floor of Hope College, opened a window and thrust her head out, tying her horns in such a way that she could not retreat.

Next morning the cow, looking out from her high station after the manner of the balcony scene, attracted general attention. President Robinson ordered the cow removed, but it was no easy task, as she energetically resisted all assistance and objected strenuously to going downstairs. The president at length assumed personal supervision of the affair, and as a last resort ordered that the cow be pushed down the stairway. She survived one flight, falling in a heap at the bottom, but the second flight was too much for her and she received injuries from which she did not recover.[2]

At Dartmouth a crowd of sophomores took a donkey into the chapel and tied him in the president's chair. Next morning, on ascending the steps to the platform, President Bartlett, who had a caustic wit, looked for a moment calmly at the poor beast, then turning to the sophomores, whom he suspected of the trick, he observed, 'Gentlemen, when you have removed your

[1] Anthony McCabe: *Memories of Brown.*
[2] *Ibid.*

brother from the platform, the exercises will proceed.'[1]

A more original joke occurred on the morning of April first, 1880. During the preceding night a freshman — afterward a well-known professor in a Western college — made his way into the chapel organ, bored a hole in the bellows and fitted a tin horn carefully into the orifice. The result was inevitable. Next morning, after the president had read the hymn and the boy who supplied the air for the organ had begun to work the lever, the discordant bray of the horn filled the chapel, dominating all other sounds. The hymn was sung that morning unaccompanied.

A favorite rallying place at Dartmouth, when any sort of deviltry was on foot, was the long, wide hallway on the third floor of old Dartmouth Hall. It was suggestively named 'Bedbug Alley,' and in the memories of Dartmouth men is a classic spot. Was a professor to be horned or a freshman disciplined? 'Meet to-night at ten in Bedbug Alley' — and a gang was pretty sure to be there. 'Stag' dances were also held in the Alley and at some of these gatherings a keg of beer supported on a sawhorse flowed freely for all who wished to partake of it.

In the winter and spring of '80 there was an organization at Dartmouth known as the 'Senior Regiment.' It consisted of a few members of the Class of '80 captained by an irrepressible youth who is now a justice of the supreme court of one of the New England States. The 'regiment' were armed with antiquated muskets carrying long and vicious bayonets, and they used to drill at night in Bedbug Alley. Occasionally they visited a freshman — there were several in the build-

[1] W. D. Quint: *The Story of Dartmouth.*

ing — and, to make it pleasant for him, drilled in his room. The ceilings were low, and at the command, 'Shoulder — *arms*,' the guns would be thrown up so high and with such force as to send the bayonets through the ceiling and cover the floor with plaster. This of course interested the freshman but seldom led to any serious consequences, for it was a point of honor as well as of wisdom to keep silent under such circumstances. The college buildings were kept in repair by means of a fund supplied by taxing the students who roomed in private houses — a means of discouraging outside rooming; therefore, to the men in the dormitories a little plaster knocked off here and there did not matter much.

Student parades were more common then than now. The so-called 'night-shirt parade' was one form of this demonstration. A few students would don their night shirts — generally over their ordinary clothing — (it was long before the days of pajamas) and would start out in line, blowing horns and carrying torches. This was the signal for every good sport to array himself similarly and join the procession, which, augmented at every corner, marched over the chief thoroughfares of the town.

The cremation of mathematics was a picturesque ceremony. At the completion of the last of the required mathematics — which was usually analytical geometry, in the spring of sophomore year — the textbooks of the class were collected, placed in a huge pine coffin, carried about town at night by black-robed pall-bearers (*ves-pillones*), preceded by a band playing on antiquated cornets, trombones, and other noisy instruments, always including a number of the ubiquitous

MOUNTAIN DAY AT AMHERST

THE CREMATION OF 'ANNA LITT,' CLASS OF 1886, AMHERST
The reclining figure is Clyde Fitch

tin horns. The coffin was followed by the class, each man clad in a black robe with a white skull and crossbones on the back — or sometimes black on white — bearing torches or flambeaux.

Arrived on the campus, elaborate ceremonies were held, including a funeral oration deriding the deceased — accompanied by groans and cat-calls — a hymn composed for the occasion and rendered by a vested choir (*cantores*); followed by some remarks in choice hog-Latin by the *Pontifex Maximus*, an impressive figure in a black robe, a tall paper cap, and flowing locks of rope yarn.

Then the funeral pyre was lighted and as the smoke of the departed 'Matthew Matics' (or 'Anna Lytt') ascended, the class joined hands and danced about the fire yelling like demons. The details of these ceremonies varied with the taste and ingenuity of the committee. The particular cremation described was celebrated by the class of '83 at Dartmouth.

The coffin containing the books was sometimes buried instead of being burned. Granite grave stones inscribed with the name 'Anna,' were long shown to freshmen at Bowdoin accompanied with sad faces and the information that they were erected to the memory of successive Annas, daughters of the president of the college.

Another impressive ceremony was the reception accorded to Daniel Pratt, 'the Great American Traveler,' on his annual visits to the colleges. There are few men of that decade who do not remember Daniel. He was supposed to be half-witted, but how much of this was real and how much was assumed was always a disputed question. It is probable that like Hamlet he was

'but mad north-north-west.' He was at least shrewd enough to know that there was some money to be gained by his harangues, and vain enough to be pleased by the adulation he received. A copy of one of his handbills, now preserved in the Amherst College library, is reproduced opposite page 256.

Typical of these receptions was one at Hanover at the beginning of the decade. Daniel sent word to the college paper, 'The Dartmouth,' announcing that he would arrive in town on a certain date, prepared to deliver his lecture on 'Medical Jurisprudence of the Universe.' A college meeting was called by the managing editor of 'The Dartmouth' — a senior of the Class of '80 — a reception committee was appointed, and steps were taken to receive the 'traveler' as was befitting so distinguished a guest. On the day of his arrival a procession was formed, at the head of which rode the marshal on a broken-down horse, decorated with ribbons and red tissue-paper. Then came the band in an ancient wagon drawn by another raw-boned steed. The instruments were tin horns, tin pans, and a battered and discarded cornet.

After the band came the police, each ornamented with a large tin star which glittered gaily in the sunlight. The military came in the rear, armed with brooms, Indian clubs, and boxing-gloves, and arrayed in battered silk hats with tissue-paper bands and streamers and in clothing which was for the most part the remnants of the rush. It was a motley crowd — a veritable Falstaff's army, 'ragged as Lazarus, such as were never soldiers.'

After supper Daniel was escorted to the chapel and delivered his lecture, 'composed,' as he said, 'of mis-

cellaneous brieflets, poetry, songs, and *ne plus ultra.*' He spoke of 'the great vocabulary or laboratory of the metaphysical equilibrium in connection with the *infelicitum harmonium* which labor sustains to the plough, the anvil, and the loom.' Meanwhile the students sat upon the backs of the seats, stamped, howled, and threw small coins at the lecturer — which he never overlooked, but bowing cheerfully, stopped his flow of language long enough to pick them up and put them into his pocket.

At the conclusion of the lecture the procession, some two or three hundred strong, with torches and music, escorted him to the precinct hall, where a mass-meeting was held and resolutions of confidence passed. Then amid the wildest enthusiasm he was nominated 'the peoples' candidate' for president of the United States. For vice-president, Victoria Woodhull was named. (This is a side-light on the disfavor with which 'women's rights' were then regarded.)

Daniel accepted the nomination, expressing his purpose to justify the trust reposed in him. After a song he closed by reciting his poem, 'The Boston Chain Lightning Pandemonium Menagerie of the Plymouth Church.' He was then escorted back to the hotel and departed next morning with a purse made up by the students 'to defray the expenses of the campaign.'

Some years earlier, Daniel had cut Brown from his itinerary because of an indignity which he had suffered there. In order to obtain a larger audience for him the students had taken out a window frame on the second floor of Hope College. As the lecturer stood upon the window-seat in the opening, addressing the enthusiastic crowd assembled on the campus below,

the college registrar strode up. The faculty had always objected to Daniel's presence because he made the students riotous. Hence the registrar waved his arms at the lecturer and shouted, 'Come down out of that!' Daniel, not being acquainted with the registrar, and supposing him to be some heckler come to disturb his lecture, looked at him severely for a moment and then continued his harangue. The representative of the faculty made his way up into Hope, and a few minutes later, in the midst of a burst of fervid oratory, Daniel suddenly disappeared from the sight of his audience — jerked backward and downward by a heavy hand upon his collar. He was hustled down the stairs and thrown violently and ignominiously out of the building. The students gathered around him and escorted him to the hotel, but nothing could persuade him to return to Brown after that affront.[1]

It is a singular coincidence that Daniel had a contemporary also named Pratt, who possessed the same passion for oratory and the same exhaustless fluency of speech. Bill Pratt of Williamstown was not related physically to Daniel Pratt. Indeed, he had a profound contempt for the 'Great American Traveler,' whom he branded as a do-nothing and a tramp. Bill was no tramp; he had spent almost his entire life of fourscore years within hearing of the chapel bell of Williams College. He had, on a few rare occasions, been as far abroad as North Adams and he cherished a great ambition to go some time to 'Pitchfield' — twenty miles away — but this oft-planned and much-talked-of journey was as oft deferred, and like Stevenson's Will o' the Mill, he died without accomplishing it.

[1] R. P. Brown: *Memories of Brown.*

AMHERST!

THE HEART of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, will give

DANIEL PRATT

A GRAND BENEFIT

AT COLLEGE HALL,

THIS WEDNESDAY, EVEN'G Nov. 20,

Doors opened at 7 1-2, to commence at 8 o'clock. Tickets 15 cents, boys and girls 10 cents, each. Reserved seats 20 cts., and gent and lady 35 cts. Tickets to be had at Geo. L. Elkbree & Co.'s, druggists, and of M. N Spear, Stationer, and at the door. ORATORICAL, POETICAL AND VOCAL ENTERTAINMENT!! Mr. Pratt, (the Great American Traveler of Boston), will speak on "THE INGENUITY OF THE CREATION," interspersed with Poems on Mechanic Arts, Agriculture, Women, the Poet, the Press, Matrimonial Poem, Boston Poem, Anecdotes of the Milkman, Fox and Geese, Picked Turkey, Yoked Pig, etc. I saved four of my Brother's lives. I shall revert a little to my history, having spoken to three or four millions of people on the Science of our Government, the last thirty years, almost without pay, and my work entitled "THE COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSE."

Let the People of Amherst Rise and Shine!!!

Poor little talkome sweet-gumering Bee!
There's room in the world for both you and me!!!

The power that moves the pen moves the world!!!!!!!!!

DANIEL PRATT, the Great American Traveller.

DANIEL PRATT, THE GREAT AMERICAN TRAVELER, IN 1880

Nor was Bill Pratt a 'do-nothing.' He had a variety of vocations and avocations. By profession he was a wood-sawyer — and a conscientious wood-sawyer, withal. If conversation had beguiled his days — as it often did — he worked on into the night, and many a time when the moon was bright, the dormitories were exasperated by the sound of Bill's saw under the windows at one and two o'clock in the morning.

When wood failed, Bill was a blackener of stoves, and when stoves failed he was a purveyor of apples and molasses candy. He was a troubadour, too, and with a dinner-bell in one hand and a pair of clappers in the other, a 'hymoniky' between his lips, and an instrument which he called a 'Shakespearean spitfire,' he made such melody as only a vigorous constitution and well-trained nerves could long endure.

But, above all, Bill was an orator. Words welled up out of his mouth in a perennial fountain. If one could not always catch the meaning of them, one was at least always impressed with their magnificent volume. There was something about them at once inspiring and satisfying.[1]

At Commencement in '87 Bill's friends and admirers among the students conceived the happy idea of initiating him into Phi Beta Kappa. Bill understood vaguely that this was a learned society and that election to membership in it was a recognition of scholarly attainments. He therefore accepted the honor gracefully, was invested with a black academic gown and a

[1] Bill has fortunately been rescued from the evanescence of oral tradition and made a character of history by Messrs. John Sheridan Zelie and Carroll Perry in their charming little book, 'Bill Pratt the Sawbuck Philosopher,' to which acknowledgment is made for the materials of this sketch.

Phi Beta key four by six inches in size, made from sheet copper by a local jeweler. After he had been welcomed into the fraternity he realized that a speech was expected of him, and he opened his mouth and spoke, taking as his theme the glories of Morgan Hall, where the oration was delivered.

He referred feelingly to Mr. Morgan, the donor, as an old friend who had consulted with him as to the materials and style of architecture to be employed in the building. He had advised Mr. Morgan to 'build it up and down — to rimrack the contaginous rocks of the Berkshire, Greylock, and the Hoosac Tunnel, and build with the architecture of concentration.' After telling his audience that he had promised Mr. Morgan to 'watch the building with his vegetation' he closed his address by saying graciously,

'Gentlemen, I thank you for your depiety and depravity.'

But those who are competent to judge, give it as their opinion that Bill reached the perihelion of his oratorical power in what is known as the Bee Hill Address. This was taken down verbatim by Mr. W. Hamilton Gibson, the artist, who was present. The critical reader will find it more serious than the Phi Beta Kappa oration and may trace in it the influence of Whitman. Bill said:

Gentlemen of the noble conjugation! Sanctified embodiments of the dust of earth! I greet you with the testaments of munification, huminity, proserpy, and destruction! By the efforts of my shad-glooms of death, by the fables of conjuity and the vance of dormant worship I select myself. I elevate myself on the prospersity and tain and parmenity and generosity to the gable-end of Christianity. . . . On the

fancy verge of egotism may the whale gates of parmenity transform my elevation and concess my headways of bluce in the ornaments of munition and the tain of gollidge. . . . By the verb-defections of parmenity, mangenism, resurrection and redemption, hail to the dust of earth! Eshah Mattah, Commora shee graw! Spit of the halfways, ornaments of publicity, vance of worship, and tain of progress, I concess myself with allspice and rang-gang to the gable-end of the cartridge box, to the inguinity of the brainless hymoniky, the concessive tweed-shell, and the Shakespearean spitfire! May the shoulder-blades of time and the inguinity of purification consume us! Sakes of life and fountain of all headways, transform us by the ornaments of testimonial pardonation to the shad-glooms of eternity. Commora shee graw! Attah!

Such were the Pratts — Daniel the Traveler, and Bill the Oracle. They illustrate the fascination which higher education has for a certain class of minds not able to attain unto it, and also the respect in which learning and especially the oratorical expression of it was held in the New England of that age. Two such characters could not be found to-day. They could not then have been found outside of New England.

Nearly every college has its object of veneration or of interest about which cluster memories and traditions. At Yale it is the 'Fence.' At first merely a convenient place for the passing of idle hours, in the course of the years the Fence became a temple of friendship, a symbol of the best things at Yale. Lewis Sheldon Welch and Walter Camp, in their book, 'Yale: Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics,' speak of the Fence in terms of loving memory and tender associations:

Of one thing Yale men were sure, that there was hardly a spot in New Haven quite so attractive as the corner of Chapel

and College Streets. That corner had a border of low fence with two round rails. Those round rails had some paint on them, but most of that which had once and again at long intervals been given them was scattered in infinitesimal portions among the trousers of generations of Yale men. Back of that fence was a stretch of bare ground, trod by the sons of Eli from time immemorial. Over all were the arching elms, which had withstood the bonfires of victories from at least as far back as the first race won against Harvard, which had shaded innumerable concourses both formal and impromptu; which had sifted the harmonies and moonbeamed the sentiments of a thousand summer evenings; which had guarded the home-comings of the sons of Yale from the time they first sat in fifties or in hundreds, with trembling and great joy, on the newly won rails, till they gathered feeble and few, at fourscore, for their reunion.[1]

The Fence in the olden time met a need which could not be supplied by classrooms, dormitories, or society-halls. It was the meeting-ground of the college as a whole. It was the forum of college opinion. What one should think of the Nine or the Crew was ascertained at the Fence. The jokes, new and old, of the classroom were made current coin at the Fence. The 'Yale News' was read at the Fence. Committee meetings were arranged at the Fence. Religious occasions were planned while men roosted on the rails or stood around in little groups. On mild evenings the Fence became a place of song, and strains of 'Boola, Boola,' 'Show me a Scotchman,' and 'Over the Banister,' mingled with the din of Chapel Street and the rustling of the elms. Just how the college managed to get along during the winter months has never been sufficiently explained. One thing is certain, Yale democracy, in no small degree, was the fruitage of the Fence. 'Men of all tastes and

[1] *Yale: Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics*, chap. VII.

modes of life were there together. They sat on the common rail, and the only mark of division was the mark of the arbitrary line of time which divided the classes.' There were times — more frequently in the seventies than in the eighties — when the Fence became the battle-line between town and gown. It was one of the big events in the college year when sophomore orators turned over to the expectant and long-waiting freshmen those sections of the Fence which would establish their status as *bona-fide* men of Yale.

In 1888 came the news, first a vague intimation, then a disturbing rumor, finally a blood-curdling fact, that the Fence was to be removed in order to make way for a much-needed recitation hall. Seldom, if ever, in her history has Yale been more agitated than during those days. There was a mass-meeting of students — a solemn affair. The alumni in all parts of the world rallied to the defense of their sacred spot. A sacrilege was being proposed! Twenty-one hundred graduates signed a protest to the trustees and this was presented by the Reverend Joseph Twichell of Hartford, the most popular college preacher, who had rowed on the first crew that beat Harvard and who was himself a trustee. It was of no avail. The authorities heeded not. Practical considerations triumphed over sentiment. Osborn Hall had to be built and the Fence had to go. The assurance that the time-honored institution would be transferred to an advantageous spot, within the campus, was fulfilled as to outward form; but the thing could not be done. The posts could be transplanted and the sacred rails put in place, but it was learned that institutions and traditions cannot be transplanted like trees. It never has been the same, and Yale men of

the Golden Days commiserate Yale men of to-day for having missed the best thing in college life.

At Dartmouth the object of veneration was the 'Old Pine.' The old pine stood at the summit of the slope on which were the principal college buildings. It stood for years — no one knows how many — a commanding feature of the landscape. There is a tradition that the Indians used to dance around it and smoke their peace-pipes at its base. Toward the middle of the last century it began to be regarded by the students as an object of veneration, and in 1854 the first senior Class Day exercises were held around it. Since that time it has been an essential of Class Day. In the eighties it was the custom for the seniors, after their exercises, to sit in a circle around the tree, to smoke clay pipes, and at a signal, to hurl the pipes against the tree, breaking them into fragments. The Old Pine fell during a heavy storm in '95, but the stump still stands and still forms the center of the seniors' Class Day ceremonies. Richard Hovey, the poet, a member of Dartmouth '85, sings:

> 'Men of Dartmouth, give a rouse
> For the college on the hill!
> For the Lone Pine above her
> And the loyal men who love her —
> Give a rouse, give a rouse, with a will.'

The goddess of Amherst men is 'Sabrina.' Mythically, Sabrina was a nymph of the River Severn, celebrated in Milton's 'Comus,' but materially she is a bronze statue presented to the college in 1857 by a former Governor of Massachusetts — 'Joel Hayden of Haydenville,' as the inscription informs us. For more than twenty years she reclined gracefully on a

sandstone base between North College and the Octagon — a small building used for housing the mineralogical cabinet. She was occasionally arrayed by the students in cast-off feminine attire and appeared now in a bathrobe, now in a sunbonnet and gingham apron, but it was not until the beginning of the eighties that she became the object of struggle between the odd and the even classes, and entered upon that elusive career of travel and concealment that has made her famous. The Class of '80 began it by hoisting her one night to the roof of the Octagon and placing in her arms a rag baby labeled '81. Her next removal was when she attended '82's class supper. Then '83 abducted her and dropped her into the college well. The faculty, to put an end to these pranks, ordered the janitor's assistant, 'Professor Charlie' (colored) to do away with her. But the janitor, touched by her misfortunes, concealed her in his barn. Here began the tradition of 'the hidden goddess.'[1] In '87 she was discovered by some freshmen, who attempted to reintroduce her to the college. A struggle between the freshmen and the sophomores followed — resulting in her being held by the Class of '90 and hidden in the attic of a private house. Ninety-one captured her and took her to their class supper at Watch Hill, Rhode Island, but soon afterward she came once more into possession of the even classes and has traveled from the Maine Coast west to Buffalo and south to Huntington, West Virginia — being hidden in barns, cisterns, storage warehouses, safety-deposit vaults, once at the bottom of a deserted mine-shaft and once in a Connecticut jail, from which she was taken by enlisting the services of the lieutenant-governor of the State.

[1] Smith, Seward, and Gibson: *Sabrina.*

No discussion of student life in that past age would be complete without mention of 'rigs' and livery stables. The 'rig' — usually a single horse and buggy, or occasionally, if the student were especially extravagant, a team — was the means by which one was brought into connection with the wider society of neighboring towns and especially with feminine society. The rig was the trolley and the automobile of those times. More expensive than the trolley — and infinitely more romantic — it took the student out of his narrow environment and opened to him the world.

It was, of course, possible to visit young women without the rig. An Amherst student often walked the seven miles to Northampton ('Hamp' in his vocabulary) to see a 'cousin' at Smith College — or the nine miles to South Hadley to see another cousin at Mount Holyoke, but the rig was 'the thing,' and was used whenever one could afford it — and very often when one couldn't.

At Dartmouth, the rig was used to carry students to the 'Fem. Sem.' at West Lebanon, or — crowded to its limit — to celebrate a baseball victory at 'the Junction' or to have a supper at some hostelry over in Vermont. It was used at Williamstown to go to North Adams after a game, or to Bennington, or to a chicken supper at Paradise's, and in Cambridge and New Haven and Providence, though unnecessary by reason of the horse-cars, it was used to impart an air of elegance and prosperity — too often fictitious — and to certify to one's social standing.

In winter the buggy became a sleigh, and the fascination of the rig was increased tenfold. Occasionally

the 'cousin' would escape from her scholastic restrictions by visiting some kind soul — there were kind-hearted women in every college town, who had not forgotten their youth and who would become blind upon occasion. At such times the joys of sleighing were doubled by being shared, and to the jingling of the bells 'the one-horse open sleigh' became a thing of romance as well as of song.

The student who went to Hamp in winter found his way beset with perils. Beyond Old Hadley was a stretch of open country where the snow used to drift over the road and over the fences, making a level and trackless waste. Even a livery horse, which is held to be a sagacious animal, often lost his bearings at that point and went into the ditch or became involved in the fence. When this happened and the sleigh upset, as it generally did, leaving the occupant struggling in the drift, the horse would quickly and cheerfully find his way back into the road and hasten home, leaving his driver to follow on foot carrying the whip.

One winter day, after a fierce New England snowstorm, a student from Hamp — now a distinguished doctor of divinity — went over with two classmates and, combining utility with pleasure, stowed in the back of the sleigh his week's washing, which he planned to have laundered at home. The customary upset occurred beyond Old Hadley, and though the horse was captured, the washing was for the most part buried in the drift or scattered in the snow. It was not until the following spring that students, returning from Hamp, discovered here and there in the mud along the roadside, as the snow receded, sundry articles of wearing apparel which they picked up, carried back to

Amherst, and hung upon the doorknob of the student's room.

'Paige's Horse' has become celebrated in song. Paige was a liveryman who came to Amherst in '83. One winter's night a few years after that, a student [1] returning late from Hamp, had the common experience on the Hadley meadows, and in the early morning, after reaching his room penned the song which has become a favorite of Amherst men, setting it to the music of a familiar gospel hymn:

'Paige's horse is in a snowdrift,
Paige's sleigh is upside down,
And my head goes reeling, reeling,
As I stagger into town.

Chorus: 'Let the student lamp be burning,
Shed its gleam across the snow,
So that I from Hamp returning,
May find my way to go.'

Occasionally, when there was something of special interest at Hamp, a group of from four to eight would hire the hack. Four was the normal capacity, but it had no absolute limits. The hack had been a somewhat stylish equipage in its day, but that was back somewhere in the hoary past. At the time of which we write, its top was not impervious to rain, and in a heavy storm was about as serviceable as a piece of mosquito netting.

Arrived at Hamp, the driver generally betook himself to a quiet resort where liquid refreshment could be had, and when the crowd was ready to return he was

[1] Dr. F. J. E. Woodbridge of the Class of '89, now dean of the Graduate School of Columbia University.

likely to be in such a state as to make the crossing of the long bridge over the Connecticut extremely perilous. It was no uncommon sight to see a young man in a dress suit climb from the hack to the driver's seat, in a pouring rain, and drive back to Amherst with one arm about the almost unconscious driver to keep him from falling overboard. The history of the livery in college towns would fill a volume.

In the country colleges — Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, Wesleyan — society as understood by the moderns did not exist. Occasionally a mild reception was given to the students by members of the faculty, or a dramatic entertainment and sometimes a dance by the fraternities, to which ladies were invited and to which they came well-guarded by chaperones. There was also the commencement ball. But while the younger professors and their wives attended and took part in these activities a number of the older members of the faculty still regarded dancing as an invention of the devil and lost no opportunity of discouraging it.

At Harvard and Yale, dances were more frequent and the 'Prom,' in the middle of the college year, under the auspices of the junior class, divided honors with the commencement ball. The Prom carried with it several days of festivity, with germans at the various fraternity houses, a concert by the glee club, and other social functions. It was distinguished by the presence of young women invited from afar. The 'prom girls' brought zest and gayety and the atmosphere of a gigantic house party.

Freshmen were not allowed on the floor at the Prom, but if they bought tickets they might look on from the

gallery and might partake of the food by going to the counter whence it issued. It was not an uncommon occurrence for the 'stags' — freshmen and unattached upper-classmen — to attack the procession of waiters that filed into the hall with loaded trays, and to relieve them of their burdens. Sometimes, too, they made a descent in force upon the commissary. At Yale, an undergraduate of that period reports the demoralized caterer as falling on his knees before a member of the Prom committee, calling on Heaven to witness his agony, and exclaiming, 'You hire me to feed nine hundert ladies and shentlemen and you attack me mit a tousend volves!'[1]

The fraternities — in those leisurely days the name had not been shortened into 'frat' — were the center of most of the social life that existed. Nearly all the New England colleges supported chapters of a half-dozen or more of the Greek-letter fraternities. At Dartmouth, Williams, and Amherst they were at their best. There the chapter-house had many of the characteristics of the home; the older 'brothers' exercised a brotherly — in some cases almost a parental — influence over the younger, and many a freshman or sophomore was saved from disgrace, if not from moral ruin, by the restraints that were put upon him 'for the honor of the fraternity.'

At Harvard the fraternities did not flourish. They soon degenerated into mere social clubs and either withdrew from the general organizations or were dropped from the list. The clubs which held distinction in the eighties are those that dominate the situation to-day: Berzilius of general popularity, Hasty

[1] Camp and Welch: *Yale: Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics.*

Pudding, composed of the socially exclusive set; Pi Eta, specializing in dramatics; and Signet, to which gravitated students of a literary cast.

Three of the fraternities, Alpha Delta Phi, Psi Upsilon, and Delta Kappa Epsilon were maintained at Yale, and still exist as junior societies. The Yale senior societies have become well known through the publicity given to the doings of Tap Day, the most peculiar and, from the standpoint of popular interest, the most spectacular institution of the Yale Campus. From decade to decade tradition holds the custom to the familiar grooves, and, aside from the emergence of the Wolf's Head Society and the Elihu Club, by the side of Skull and Bones and Scroll and Key, as the dispensers of distinction, there has been no essential alteration in the programme. The change has been in the attitude of the public, which, although excluded from the campus, has come to regard the Thursday afternoon in late May when the elect of the junior class are 'tapped' for membership in the senior societies — fifteen for each — as one of the big shows of the year. In the eighties, it was an affair of the college and few even from other departments of the university took pains to attend.

Otherwise the solemnities proceeded much as at the present time. There was the same assembling of the juniors at five o'clock in the afternoon in the old campus, along the fence in front of Durfee and Farnum Halls; the same filing of the seniors from their respective society-houses, one at a time, at intervals of from two to four minutes; the same solemnity of face and demeanor, the seniors recognizing no one along the way; the same penetration of the crowd, until each

senior found his particular man; the same slapping on the back, the same shout of applause from the onlooking classmates, varying with the popularity of the choice; the retirement of the junior to his room, with the senior following at his heels, the announcement of the election in formal language, and the return to the campus for the congratulations of friends and the checking-up of lists to learn who the society-mates during senior year were to be.

It may be added that the only change which time has wrought is possibly in the intensification of the emotions engendered on this most fateful day in a Yale man's life. The ambitions, the strivings of a college career come before the bar of student opinion. The top-notch of social honor is at stake. To those who are bold enough to entertain hopes, the nervous excitement is intense, and the wounds of Tap Day are deep, deep wounds. It goes without saying that forty years ago, as to-day, there was the same conflict of opinion as to whether this institution is consonant with any just scale of values between man and man, and with that spirit of democracy which is supposed to characterize New England college life.[1]

No reference to life at Yale would be complete without mention of Moriarty's, an old-fashioned tap-room, universally known as 'Mory's,' located in those days at the corner of Temple and Crown Streets. The place had the atmosphere of an English inn and was much favored by students of the livelier sort at the close of a long and dreary day of recitations and exams. It was

[1] For a detailed account of Tap Day, see *Yale: Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics*, chap. XIV.

famous for its scrambled eggs, its beer, and its homey atmosphere. If the songs became too noisy or ribald a buxom dame would drop her knitting and come from the parlor to chide the boys. On the nights of the big games the place would be crowded, but ordinarily it had its special clientele, and any one resembling a class-deacon would have been considered *de trop*. In certain periods the place took on a literary flavor, becoming a rendezvous for the smart writers of the 'Yale Lit' and other publications. Some of the cleverest poems that appeared are said to have been inspired by the fellowship of Mory's tables and steins. At one time it reached the dignity of being dubbed the 'Cheshire Cheese of Yale.' On the walls hung old prints and table-tops carved with the initials of famous Yale men of former days. Perhaps in these later and better days, Mory's has been reformed, but in the eighties a facetious person, inclined to lament the decadence of morals, would wag his head and exclaim, 'O Tempora! O Mory's!'

At Harvard the eighties marked a change in the social conditions of college life. Previous to about 1885 the student organizations, and to a large extent student opinion, had been ruled by an aristocracy — sometimes facetiously referred to as the 'apostolic succession' — but at about that time the classes began to increase in size, and a new and democratic element entered the college, demanding and eventually receiving recognition. The Harvard classes of the early part of the decade had an average membership of less than two hundred, but in '89 and '90, they had almost quadrupled.[1] Yale experienced a similar change, though the

[1] John Hays Gardiner: *Harvard.*

atmosphere of Yale was always less aristocratic than that of Harvard.

Commencement week in the eighties was the great time of the year, not only for the college, but for the townspeople and the surrounding farmers. On this occasion the town was in gala attire and had many of the characteristics of a country fair. As a type of the old-time commencement we may take that of Dartmouth in 1880. The southern and western sides of the campus were bordered with tents, booths, lemonade stands, shooting galleries, whistling chestnut-roasters, corn-poppers, canvas-walled vistas where one might purchase chances to ring a cane or to hurl the baseball at a row of grinning Ethiops in the hope of winning an unspeakable cigar. On the corner of the campus a farmer and his wife might be seen seated on the grass, with several of their offspring, eating cheese and gingerbread out of a paper bag. There were blushing maidens gaily beribboned to see their brothers graduate. There were sub-freshmen — known as *pænes* — being 'chinned' by upper-classmen for the fraternities. There were small boys everywhere — but chiefly about the lemonade and peanut stands — and a look of expectation on every face, and a spirit of holiday excitement.

Mr. Carroll Perry in his 'Going to Commencement'[1] recalls, at Williams, swings and a merry-go-round, and a negro who performed wonders by using his head as a battering ram — 'and the Governor of the Commonwealth, and the sheriff of the County of Berkshire, with bell-crown and cockade, in buff waistcoat, carrying a staff.' There were the same crowd of rustics already

[1] *The Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1923.

described as visiting Dartmouth — and the same variety of gainful pursuits.

The exercises in the college church were wearisome in the extreme. The under-classmen rarely attended them. A few juniors occasionally straggled in to get points on what they should have to do the next year. But the seniors sat on the platform five mortal hours, perspired, and listened to the oratory of their classmates. First the Salutatory, which was always in Latin, and rarely understood except when some phrase like '*puellæ pulchrissimæ*' made those of the audience who understood a little of the language realize that the orator was becoming humorous and that it was time to smile. Then orations on the 'Character of Gladstone,' 'The Last Days of Napoleon,' 'The Conflict between Science and Religion,' and so on — fifteen or sixteen of them, until the retired ministers, the relatives of the graduating class and the agricultural contingent, overcome by heat and eloquence, began to nod and sometimes to lose themselves and snore.

Class Day was the most enjoyable feature of commencement week. The fullest celebration of it probably was at Harvard. In addition to the Oration, Poem, Ivy Oration, Ivy Ode, and other exercises which Harvard had in common with other New England Colleges there was a unique celebration around the 'Tree' — a large old elm in the Yard, not far from the Johnston Gate. There the jollities of the day reached their climax. The class, headed by a brass band, marched about the Yard, cheering the buildings, the president, the more popular professors — anybody and anything that appealed to the enthusiasm of the moment. Then, disappearing for a time, they discarded the dress-suits,

white ties and high silk hats in which they had been arrayed since early morning (let the modern collegian sniff at the style of it!) and reappeared in the cast-off habiliments of their closets — remnants of clothing saved from rushes — often extremely scanty remnants. Thus equipped they repaired to the tree, from the trunk of which, just out of reach, a wreath of small bouquets had been fastened. On three sides of the inclosure rose tiers of seats filled with relatives and friends of the class. The object of each senior was to obtain one of the bouquets, or at least a few flowers from one of them, for his *inamorata*, who was supposed to be looking on from the benches. In pursuit of this gainful purpose the whole class at a signal charged upon the tree in a wild scramble, regardless of life or limb. Occasionally a group of seniors would select an athletic fellow as their representative and boost him up the trunk, in the expectation that he would capture enough blossoms for them all.

The 'Harvard Register' for July, 1880, gives a description of the Class Day exercises of that year, in which Theodore Roosevelt took part and for which he was one of the committee of arrangements. After the exercises of the morning in Sanders came 'spreads' given by the societies — Pi Eta, Hasty Pudding, and Signet; also private spreads in the dormitories. On that particular occasion an elaborate spread was given by seven seniors belonging to Porcellian — Roosevelt being one of the seven. Dancing in Memorial Hall followed, and a little after five o'clock the class, dressed in their worst, marched into the square before the tree. On the ground, in front of the stands, sat the undergraduates, arranged by classes, and the alumni. Upon

the entrance of the seniors they arose and cheered for '80 — whereupon '80 cheered in return. After the cheering, '80 sang their class song, the rendition of which was not improved by the hoarseness engendered in the preceding shouting.

The song over, hands are joined; each class forms a living chain, of which every link is resolved not to prove the weakest part. Word is given; round and round they go; the whirl grows furious, maddening. Fond parents tremble for the safety of sons who may fall and be trampled upon, and they sigh with relief when they see rings broken and attention drawn to the seniors alone as they, at a given signal from the marshal, strive to grasp a blossom from the bouquets forming the wreaths, which at a height of ten feet encircle the dear old tree. Pushed against the tree beyond hope of release, those who were foremost serve as stepping-stones for the others. Up struggled an adventurous youth upon heaving shoulders; he grasped at the tantalizing blossoms and some of them came away with his touch, but he left the cuticle of his knuckles behind; nor did he make off with his prize, for he took a plunge backward among those beneath him, lost his grasp on his trophy and it was borne away to deck the dress of some one other than she for whom he intended it. Another and another followed his example, some to meet with his fate, others more fortunate. More eager grew the struggle as the girdle was broken and torn away. The last flower is gone; there is nothing more to be striven for, and so, the most pleasant and unique rite of Class Day over, the seniors pass out to prepare for the softer pleasures of the evening.[1]

The evening exercises included teas given by President Eliot and others, and dancing on the green in front of Holworthy, as well as in Memorial Hall, Hemenway Gym, and various others halls and society houses. The Quadrangle, decorated with lanterns and

[1] *Harvard Register*, July, 1880.

gay with fireworks, presented the aspect of a carnival.

From year to year the exercises around the tree continued to grow more uproarious until they at length became so dangerous that in 1890 they were abolished and the milder exercises at the statue of John Harvard took their place.

In all the colleges commencement week was, for the seniors, the climax of college activities, and Class Day was the most festive day of the week. Yet its rather boisterous merriment had an undercurrent of sadness. For it marked the end of student life. And with all its follies and extravagances, student life holds a place in the memory of college men that is different from all other memories, and pleasant in retrospect because so carefree and instinct with the spirit of youth. It is a memory in which the 'old grad' of the eighties may join with the latest graduate and feel the spirit of comradeship that outlasts the years.

CHAPTER VIII

ATHLETICS AND OTHER STUDENT ACTIVITIES

COLLEGE sports, before the eighties, had been generally free from professionalism, but that happy condition was not to continue. The change began with the advent of professional coaches by the athletic teams of Harvard and Yale in the early part of the decade. The practice was frowned upon by the college faculties, and in '82 was forbidden at Harvard. President Eliot foresaw the dangers that threatened college athletics from the influence of professionalism and did all that he could to stem the tide that was setting in. He wrote letters to the presidents of other colleges urging them to forbid the playing of practice games with professional teams, and to some extent this request was heeded — but the professional trainer, once introduced, had come to stay, and before many years he was quite generally employed by college teams. The only tangible result of this agitation was to prevent the playing in college games of any one who had played on a professional team.

BASEBALL

The king of intercollegiate sports in the eighties was baseball. The game had been played since 1839 — and in the colleges since the fifties. The first intercollegiate baseball game played in America is believed to have been one played between Amherst and Williams, July 1, 1859, at Pittsfield, in which Amherst won by the astonishing score of seventy-three to thirty-two. The

ball used is still on exhibition in the Amherst gymnasium; it is about as large as a tennis ball and as hard as a stone. Baseball as a standard intercollegiate sport dates from 1880. In the last days of December, 1879, the 'Intercollegiate Baseball Association' was organized, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Amherst, and Brown. Each nine was to play two games with every other nine. The question as to the admission of players who had at any time played on professional nines was discussed, and the refusal of the Association at that time to take definite action on the matter led to the withdrawal of Yale.[1] Princeton took the championship that first season of 1880, though Yale, outside of the Association, defeated Princeton as well as Harvard and Amherst. The only college games that Yale played in 1880 were with these three colleges. The next season ('81), having qualified, she reëntered the Association and held the championship for six years, with the single exception of '85, in which year Harvard was the winner.

At the close of the season of '86 it became evident that the larger colleges, Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, having more wealth and more baseball material from which to draw, were able to outclass the other members of the league. Accordingly, the organization was dissolved. Yale, Harvard, and Princeton joined with Columbia in forming a new league, from which Columbia withdrew after the first season, leaving the three stronger teams in a triangular league that existed until the early nineties.

The most interesting baseball event of the decade

[1] Walter Camp: 'Yale Athletics' in *Yale; Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics.*

was the series of games between Harvard and Yale while A. A. Stagg was pitcher on the Yale nine. For five years, 1886–1890, largely as a result of Stagg's superior work, the championship remained in New Haven. Of the twenty-one successive games in which he participated, he won fifteen and lost only six, probably the most consistent record held by any college pitcher. Four games were played each year and a reading of the scores indicates that the contests were not as one-sided as the outcome would seem to indicate. For instance, in the game played on Holmes Field, Cambridge, June 25, 1887, thirteen innings were required to establish Yale's superiority, with a score of five to four. It was in this game, played under intense excitement, that G. W. Foster, '87, Harvard's left-fielder, threw out three men at the plate. Of Foster, 'The H Book,' which records the history of Harvard athletics, 1852–1922, says, 'His playing has seldom been equalled and never excelled at Cambridge.'[1] Another historic struggle of the Stagg period was that on Holmes Field, June 9, 1888, when, apparently in sheer desperation, Harvard put in a freshman, H. W. Bates, as pitcher, and unexpectedly won the game by the score of seven to three. The picture facing page 280 is of this game, with Bates in the box. Other players on the Harvard side were James A. Gallivan, later known as congressman from Boston, who played an errorless game at second base, and Roland W. Boyden, of Dawes Plan fame, who was credited with two put-outs, one assist, and no errors in center-field.

The three remaining teams of the original Association, Dartmouth, Amherst, and Brown, continued

[1] *The H Book of Harvard Athletics*, John A. Blanchard, editor, p. 204.

the Association series. Williams had been playing games with other colleges 'unofficially' for several years and had an ambition to join the minor league with a winning team. Accordingly, two of the best players in the college nines that had played against Williams, the pitcher for Bowdoin, and the catcher for Brown, were approached with inducements to give up their former allegiance and go to Williamstown to college. They yielded, and with the strong battery thus secured Williams entered the Association in '86 and celebrated her prowess in a song which became classic:

'The first year that Williams did enter the League,
She paralyzed Amherst and Brown. (*Repeat.*)
Can't you play horse? Can't you play ball?
Can't you paralyze Amherst and Brown? (*Repeat.*)

'The second year Williams did enter the League,
She beat Dartmouth, Amherst, and Brown. (*Repeat.*)
Can't you play horse? Can't you play ball?
Can't you beat Dartmouth, Amherst, and Brown?' (*Repeat.*)

Baseball was played in the eighties with less protective paraphernalia than is now used. Gloves were generally worn by the catcher and occasionally by the first baseman, but not by any of the other players. The catcher generally wore a mask when he stood close behind the bat, but not at other times.

It was customary in those days for the catcher to stand away back near the backstop until two strikes had been called or until there were runners on bases. Then he would put on his mask and stand up to the batter. The pitcher was restricted to a straight-arm underhand pitch and was allowed nine balls.

DIVISION FOOTBALL IN THE EIGHTIES, DARTMOUTH

BASEBALL ON HOLMES FIELD, HARVARD

It was nearly the middle of the decade before the chest protector came into use. Mr. W. T. Reid in 'The H Book of Harvard Athletics' says that in '84, while the Harvard nine was on its way to New Haven to play Yale, some one brought a chest protector aboard the train at Hartford, and it was examined by the players with great curiosity. The next day, when practicing before the game, Allen, the catcher, put it on and the rest of the nine amused themselves by throwing hot balls at him to test the new contrivance. It proved so efficacious that Allen wore it in the game that day, and in all the games that he played thereafter.

Football

Football was at this time in its infancy as an intercollegiate sport. It had been played locally for many years as a game between entire college classes — especially between sophomores and freshmen — and usually resulted in a *mêlée* in which eyes were blackened and noses ensanguined. The ball was the old round rubber ball, and though the ostensible object of the game was to kick it over the opposite goal, the real object seemed to be to do as much physical damage as possible to the members of the opposing class. One game annually between the two lower classes was enough, and being played without rules, it eventually ceased to be a game and became a 'football rush.' At Harvard and at Brown the day on which it was played was known as 'Bloody Monday.' Yale prohibited the game in 1857 and Harvard in 1860, but the fight between sophomores and freshmen went on without the saving presence of the football, and 'Bloody Monday' continued to be the freshman's day of fate, the fight or

rush being waged at night and the participants more or less disguised, to escape the watchful eyes of the proctors.

Football was revived at Harvard and at Yale in the early seventies and was played in a saner fashion by picked teams of ten to fifteen on a side. Yale, Princeton, and Columbia played the 'Association' game, in which the hands were supposed not to be used. Our modern 'Soccer' is a corruption of the word 'Association,' and the games are somewhat similar. At this time Harvard played a game that in many respects resembled Rugby football. It was inherited from Exeter, Andover, and the Boston fitting schools and was known as the 'Boston game.' But in 1874 Harvard adopted the Rugby rules and played with a Canadian team from McGill University, on Jarvis Field, the first intercollegiate Rugby game seen in America.[1] The next year Yale, too, adopted the Rugby rules with some modifications, and a few years later the Intercollegiate Football Association was organized, playing under the Rugby Union rules and making the game practically the same that is played in America to-day.

The football played at Dartmouth was known as the 'division game.' It resembled the free-for-all game that had been used for class contests in the other colleges but was played under a clearly defined set of rules which were a modification of the 'Association' rules. The entire college joined in the games. Every man belonged to one side or the other. The sides were determined by membership in one or the other of two time-

[1] The first intercollegiate football game of any kind played in America was played under the 'Association' rules, between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869.

honored but defunct societies known as the United Fraternity and the Social Friends — names which had become contracted into 'Frater' and 'Social.' Upon matriculation each student was assigned alternately in alphabetical order, to one of these societies, which at that time survived only as names, and for practical purposes served chiefly to label one for his football division. Occasionally the line-up was changed, the seniors and sophomores playing against the juniors and freshmen. This was known as 'whole division.'

It was a stirring sight to see the campus at Hanover between twelve o'clock noon, and twelve-thirty, or in the early evening from supper until dark. Spring and fall, every day that the weather would permit, the college turned out and played. Often two hundred men might be seen engaged in a frantic struggle to kick the ball on one side or the other over the campus fence, which served the purpose of the goals. The game was different from the Association game in several respects, and very different from the Rugby game. Interference was allowed, but no tackling. The ball might be struck with the hand but must not be held. A player might run with it, supporting it lightly on the tips of his fingers and keeping it constantly in the air except as it touched his fingers on the rebound, but if it remained in his hand more than a moment a foul was called, and the ball was tossed up to be struggled for anew. It was a game that furnished sport for every one alike, whether he were a good player or a poor one, and it not only provided the best sort of physical exercise, but it brought the entire college together and unified the student life.

Within the first few weeks of the fall term there was

always a special game between the sophomores and the freshmen, but it never reached the gory stage of the sophomore-freshmen fights at Harvard and at Yale. It was still a game. There were times when a blow of the fist aimed ostensibly at the ball, might land on the nose or in the eye of an opponent, but for the most part it was played according to the rules. This old 'division game' proved so popular that Dartmouth was the last of the colleges to be converted to Rugby football and to enter intercollegiate games. It was not until '81 that Clarence Howland of the Class of '84, a football star from Exeter, organized the first Dartmouth eleven and began to play the other colleges. And for several years after that time Dartmouth maintained the 'division game 'for home amusement, and 'Frater warning!' 'Social warning!' was a familiar cry on the campus as late as '85 or '86.

At Yale, Walter Camp was the star of the football team—which about 1880 changed from a 'fifteen' into a modern 'eleven.' Camp was a member of the Class of '80, but by attending a professional school he continued his connection with the university and was enabled to play on the team six years. During the fourteen years between 1875 and 1890 Yale won every game played against Harvard and most of the games against Princeton. Yale and Princeton were at that time the acknowledged leaders of intercollegiate football in America.

In a delightful book entitled, 'In the Early Eighties and Since, with Yale '83,' by Mr. C. M. Thomson and others, is an account of a football game between Yale and Harvard in the fall of '82. It is contributed by Mr. C. W. Burpee and is from the point of view of a

Yale 'rooter.' Mr. Burpee tells us that the Yale crowd came up from New Haven on the first special train ever run to Boston for a football game. The train was delayed by a slow freight which disputed possession of the track, and did not arrive until some time after the hour scheduled for the game. The team had preceded them and were already on the grounds. Before the 'special' was fairly in the station three hundred Yale undergraduates jumped off, 'brushed a cordon of cops aside like ninepins, tore through the station and seized every vehicle in sight. Cabbies who were fortunate enough to get aboard their own craft, worked their way through the compact mass in each, even up over the roofs, and right well were they rewarded.'

They missed the first half of the game, though neither team had scored. . . . But in a moment

down the gridiron went Hull, two or three Harvard men swinging from each shoulder like the ends of neckties snapping in the breeze; Doc Beck, whom the early-comers had dubbed 'the tow-headed mucker' was everywhere — and the ball was over for a touchdown.

Ropes? Who ever thought that ropes were sufficient protection for a college football field? Under and over and through them we went. Polly Parrott happened to be beside me. A stalwart cop was making for our corner and we were dodging under the rope. Polly did not see him. I yelled a warning, but too late. The cop had his hand on Polly's shoulder. With a new shout of glee and with magnificent strategy Polly whirled and threw his arms around the rotund blue waist. And the pride of Beacon Street went upward. His place, Polly divined, was over almost in front of our goal-posts, and Polly had ample time to melt into the mob before the cop had time to get back from that place. He had to count up legs and arms and test his air before he could move at all. . . . One touchdown was all that was made by

Yale in that game, but Harvard made none; so the special was a success after all.[1]

In an article in the 'Yale Alumni Weekly' Professor William Lyon Phelps, of Yale '87, describes a spectacular game which was played between Princeton and Yale in 1885. It was the first Princeton-Yale game played on the then new Yale Field. Princeton was expected to win, but Watkinson of Yale kicked a field goal, which then counted five points, and the score remained five to nothing until nearly the end. Then Yale punted; the ball bounded curiously; Lamar, the Princeton halfback, seized it, and eluding his adversaries, ran the entire length of the field. Professor Phelps continues:

It was the most thrilling run I ever saw. The Princeton crowd went into a delirium; the Princeton captain kissed Lamar; the Yale captain rolled on the ground in an agony of despair, tearing at his hair. The touchdown counted four points, but the goal from placement would add two. All Yale hoped that Dick Hodge, one of four Hodge brothers who played on Princeton teams, would miss the kick, but he didn't.

Professor Phelps's description of the game between Harvard and Yale in 1887 is even more entertaining. He says:

Up to the year 1887, Harvard had not been a factor in football. But that year, under the leadership of Captain Holden, she came into her own; she defeated Princeton, Mr. Holden breaking his breastbone in doing so. She came to New York full of confidence, and there was a terrific struggle. Yale's captain was Beecher and among the players were 'Pa' Corbin at center, Wurtenberg at halfback and the late Billy Bull at full back. For a time it seemed as if Harvard, which

[1] *In the Early Eighties and Since, with Yale '83.*

HARVARD FOOTBALL TEAM, 1886

YALE BASEBALL TEAM, 1887

had never defeated Yale, was going to win. But Corbin had invented a peculiar play at center, by which he kicked the ball through the legs of the opposing player, ran after it, picked it up, and traveled far enough the first time to enable Bull to kick a goal from the field, and the second time to make a touchdown himself. Harvard, however, scored a touchdown, which seemed in those days almost sacrilegious, and under modern rules she would have scored another, but the whistle blew for the end of the first half one tenth of a second before the runner crossed the Yale goal line. Toward the end of the game Wurtenberg miraculously ran through the entire Harvard team and made a touchdown. This infuriated one Harvard player so much that he began pounding the spine of Wurtenberg as he lay prone, which in turn infuriated a Yale player, so that he kicked the Harvard gentleman in the face, and a good time was had by all.

The football of the eighties differed from the modern game in several respects. There was no mass playing and less team work than now. The play was not so strenuous and not nearly so scientific. The scoring was different. Scoring by points was not adopted until 1883. Before that time goals alone counted. A touchdown had no value unless it was converted into a goal.[1] A little later touchdowns began to be considered, but a goal kicked from the field was for some time equal to four touchdowns. In '83, when scoring by points was begun, a goal from a touchdown counted six, a goal from a field kick five, a touchdown two, and a safety by opponents, one.[2]

The eighties saw the first systematic training of football players in the colleges. The 'football table' was first established to regulate their diet. The rubbing-down and protection of players during intermission between the halves first became a matter of concern.

[1] Walter Camp: *Yale Athletics.* [2] *Ibid.*

But the demands of recitation schedules and rules against prolonged absence from town made the football trips strenuous affairs and precluded the possibility of giving much care to the players. Dr. C. S. Little, Dartmouth '91, at a football celebration in Hanover a year or two ago, told how the football team of '88 left White River Junction at three o'clock on a Thursday morning, played Harvard at Cambridge that afternoon, met Exeter at Exeter Friday, and Andover at Andover Saturday, returned Saturday evening in a day coach — presumably the smoker — arriving at 'the Junction' at one o'clock Sunday morning and then riding to Hanover in a barge. Incidentally they received one hundred and fifty dollars for playing the Harvard game and seventy-five dollars each for the Exeter and Andover games — and lost all three. For this last catastrophe there was clearly a reason.

It was during the eighties that football began to take its place as a scientific sport — yet in the early part of the decade it awakened little popular interest outside of the students of the colleges engaged. The intercollegiate games were fairly well attended by rooters of the colleges engaged, but they rarely called out any considerable number of the general public.[1] Surely no one then could have foreseen the important place that college football was to take in the public consciousness during the ensuing forty years, or even during that first ten years.

Boating

Boating in the eighties had become for the most part a series of contests between Yale and Harvard. The

[1] T. C. Thacher in *The H Book of Harvard Athletics*.

picturesque college regattas of the preceding decade on the Connecticut, the Hudson, and Saratoga Lake, in which not only Yale and Harvard, but also Columbia, Cornell, Amherst, Dartmouth, Williams, Wesleyan, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Bowdoin, Brown, and Trinity took part (and on one occasion, Princeton, Hamilton, and Union) had already passed into history. In 1872 the 'Rowing Association of American Colleges' had been established. Amherst won the regatta that first year. In '73 Yale won; in '74 Columbia, and in '75 Cornell. In '76 Harvard and Yale withdrew from the Association and began their series of annual races. The first two years they rowed on the Connecticut from West Springfield to Longmeadow, but in '78 they went to New London, which has been the scene of their boating contests ever since. With the Yale and Harvard crews eliminated, most of the other colleges lost interest, and boating, thereafter, as a general intercollegiate sport, ceased to exist. During the ten years between '80 and '90 the Yale-Harvard race at New London and an occasional race between Columbia and Harvard, and Columbia and Yale, were the only races in which the New England colleges took much interest. The scene was very much the same as it is today. The observation train, with its crowds of spectators, followed the crews along the bank of the river, keeping abreast of them and making it possible for one to watch the progress of the race from start to finish. Between '80 and '90 Yale won seven of the ten races and Harvard three.

Track Athletics

Track athletics, forty years ago, were chiefly of local

interest. There was, to be sure, the annual intercollegiate meet at Mott Haven, and on Manhattan Field, New York — but the contestants were chiefly from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and Pennsylvania, with an occasional entry from Amherst and Dartmouth. Harvard was usually the winner in this branch of sport, taking first place in eight out of the ten years of the decade.

The real interest in track athletics centered about the annual, or sometimes semi-annual, local meets, where all the athletes of a college — and some who by no stretch of the imagination could be called athletes — displayed their prowess, or their lack of it, and won prizes ranging from a razor or a necktie to a loving-cup. There was always a spirited contest between the classes to see which should win the largest number of contests. At Amherst, the fall athletic meet was known as the 'Cider Meet,' because in addition to the individual prizes the class having the largest number of winners was awarded a barrel of cider. On the night following the sports this barrel formed the center of a celebration which included bonfires, songs, noise of every kind, and — if the winners happened to be sophomores — the hazing of freshmen.

The track meet had some features that would seem strange to the modern undergraduate — a bicycle race, for instance, in which the contestants on old-fashioned high wheels chased one another around the track while the more rapid tests of skill and strength went on within the circle. In another concentric ring either inside or outside of that devoted to the bicycle race, one-mile and three-mile 'square heel and toe' walking contests were going on.

The final event was the tug of war between sophomores and freshmen, wherein the strong and heavy men of the respective classes tried to pull their way to victory. A local brass band, consisting of players on boisterous and not altogether musical instruments, was usually in attendance — to the inspiring strains of which the athletes ran and jumped and vaulted and hurdled and threw the hammer and did the various other stunts that still characterize track athletics — and there were some records made that have not been much improved in the intervening years.

Other Sports

Most of the colleges had tennis clubs, and there was some intercollegiate tennis, though not in an organized way as in the case of baseball or football. The place of tennis was chiefly as an intra-college sport — between individuals in tournament and between teams chosen from the various fraternities or classes.

Basket-ball, hockey, and swimming had not appeared as organized sports. Hockey developed at Harvard about the middle of the nineties and was known at that time as 'Ice Polo.'

Glee Clubs and College Singing

College glee clubs in the eighties were not the highly trained musical organizations that are sent out by the colleges to-day. They were simplicity itself. The Harvard Glee Club of 1880 consisted of twenty members, Yale had sixteen, Amherst twenty, Dartmouth six. Most of the clubs were content with an itinerary that embraced the neighboring towns, or a few New England cities, or that at most did not extend far west

of the Atlantic seaboard. A few of the larger clubs began to make western tours. The first western trip of the Yale Club was made in the early eighties.[1]

In '83 the Amherst Club, through the good offices of western alumni, were able to extend their spring trip as far as Minneapolis and Saint Paul, where they sang in conjunction with Mademoiselle Litta. This places the date pretty accurately. They also sang at various of the smaller cities in Wisconsin and Minnesota — cities that had never heard an eastern club and that regarded their coming as an event of importance. An editor of a local newspaper in one of these towns was determined to make the most of it. He wrote that the club 'gave an all-fired good show,' and that 'the audience was no rag-tag, bob-tailed, rough-scuff, sort of a crowd.' This, too, places the date. Wisconsin newspapers are more sophisticated to-day.

A place on the college glee club was sought not only because of the opportunity it gave for voice culture and practice in the art of singing, but also for the excitement of travel and adventure. A concert tour usually included receptions, dances, and introductions to pretty girls, who were inclined to regard college men as something rather heroic. It was a consolation prize for the man who could not make one of the athletic teams — for then as now, the college athlete occupied the first place in the public esteem.

To the glee-club man, a dress-suit was a *sine qua non*, and in an age when a large proportion of students were poor boys, dependent wholly or in part upon their own resources, the purchase of this official raiment became a real problem. A few were obliged to rent their suits

[1] Daniel S. Knowlton: *In the Early Eighties and Since, with Yale '83.*

or to borrow them from classmates who had more wealth and less musical ability. However, it was usually to the glee-club men that one went when one sought the loan of this kind of garment for an important social function.

During the early eighties the first collapsible pasteboard suit-boxes were made. These were well adapted to carry a dress-suit, and the glee clubs generally made use of them. The sight of twenty young men disembarking from a train and marching up the principal street of a town, each with a pasteboard suit-box under his arm, or suspended by a shawl strap, was quite enough to attract the populace and advertise the concert.

An analysis of old glee-club programmes shows that college music has changed considerably in forty years. These programmes contain usually as an opening number one of the time-honored concert selections for male voices which belong no more to the college man than to the professional singer. 'Comrades in Arms,' 'Stars of the Summer Night,' 'Spring's Delights,' 'Forsaken,' 'Soldier's Farewell,' are examples. Then, there were the distinctly college songs of an earlier period — many of them drinking-songs — which had about them a flavor of good-fellowship and irresponsibility — 'Lauriger Horatius,' 'Ubi Bene,' 'Landlord, Fill the Flowing Bowl,' 'Cocachelunk,' and 'Crambambuli.' Then there were college songs of local interest, as 'Eli Yale,' 'Fair Harvard,' and 'On the Banks of the Old Freshman.' There were ballads or narrative songs, as 'Peter Gray,' 'Michael Roy,' 'There was a Bold Fisherman,' 'Jingle Bells,' 'Gee Whoa Dobbin.' There were the negro folk songs of the South, as 'Nelly was a Lady,' 'Carve dat

'Possum,' 'The Golden Slippers,' and 'Polly Wolly Doodle.'

But the eighties saw the introduction into college singing of a new type of song that has persisted until the present and that threatens the extinction of real college music. This was the catchy, popular song of the New York music halls. The glee club — or any group of college men — would announce in song that their names — individually and collectively — were Solomon Levi, and that 'way down on Chatham Street they were engaged in the sale of second-handed ulsterettes and everything else so fine, Tra-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la-la. Or again, changing their identity, they would declare that their names were O'Hoolihan, and that they were men 'quite influential'; or again, that they 'belonged to the *German Fifth* that promenades along Broadway,' or that they were Billy McGee and that 'there was ne'er a gossoon in the village dared tread on the tail of their coats, Sing mush, mush, mush, tu-ra-li-ad-dy,' etc.; or that Mrs. Brady, a widow lady, had a daughter whom they adored, or that their Mary Ann was a teacher in a great big public school, and that she got a thousand dollars every year. These things cheapened college singing then, as modern songs of the same type cheapen it now. The hope of the future in college music lies in songs written by college men, with the college atmosphere — such songs as 'Lord Jeffrey Amherst,' 'A Song for Old Yale,' 'The Chapel Steps,' 'Mother of Men,' and Richard Hovey's famous 'Stein Song.' These are distinctive and lend character and color to college life. Would there were more of them!

Besides the glee clubs, there were occasionally class

quartettes that gave a good account of themselves and by means of concerts in near-by towns, were able to earn a little extra money to help pay their term bills.

College singing in the mass was less organized than at present. There was much of it in the spring and autumn evenings — on the campus fence, or on the chapel steps, or on the porches of the fraternity houses — and it was fresh and inspiring and for the most part musical, but it was rather haphazard after all, and uneven in quality. Except at Yale, the glee clubs made little or no effort to stimulate this general out-of-door singing.

College Dramatics

Not many years before the period of which we are writing, dramatic productions were forbidden by college authorities as savoring of the immoral. The old Puritan prejudice against the stage persisted, and there were at the beginning of the eighties still a few reactionaries on the college faculties who objected to seeing young men masquerade in women's clothes. But the light of a new day was breaking, and dramatics were beginning to be considered a legitimate student activity.

The outstanding example of this awakening interest was the Greek play at Harvard in 1881. It was the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' of Sophocles, and was given in the original by undergraduates, assisted and directed by Professor George Riddle, who himself assumed the title rôle. Among other names appearing in the cast were some that have since become famous. The part of Teirisias, the seer, was taken by Curtis Guild of the Class of '81, later Governor of Massachusetts and United States Ambassador to Russia. The 'messenger

from within the palace' was Owen Wister, the novelist, of the Class of '82; the prompter (ὑποβολεύς) was George Lyman Kittredge, later Professor of Latin at Harvard and a famous classical scholar. The programme, a copy of which lies before us, was printed in Greek, excepting the actor's names and a note at the end in which it is stated that 'Horse-cars will be ready after the performance, for those who wish to go to Boston.'

Descending from tragedy to comedy, the next important dramatic enterprise that engaged the attention of students in the eighties was the rendition of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas. It was the decade in which those gems of mirth and melody were at the height of their popularity, and at several of the colleges 'Pinafore,' 'Patience,' and others of the group were presented by students. The first student performance of 'Pinafore' was probably that given at Dartmouth in Kibling's Opera House, in December, '79, at the threshold of the decade. 'Little Buttercup' was impersonated by one of the largest men in college who weighed somewhat more than two hundred and fifty pounds avoirdupois. The 'company' had invitations to repeat the performance at Manchester, Dover, and Claremont, but the faculty forbade it.

The Hasty Pudding Club of Harvard, which for some time had been presenting a farce each spring, turned at the beginning of the eighties to musical comedy — stimulated no doubt by the popular interest in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas — and began the staging of an annual musical play, the words and music of which were written by members of the club. This play soon became a feature of undergraduate life

at Harvard, and after its original presentation in Cambridge, was usually repeated in one of the Boston theaters.

At Yale, the glee club, assisted by young women from the New Haven church choirs, presented in 1882 the comic opera 'Penikeese,' written by Messrs. Buel and Shepard of the Class of '83.

At Amherst the Class of '83, during its senior year, gave 'The New Rip Van Winkle,' adapting the old Dutch legend to college life, and showing how a student of an earlier day, after a protracted sleep induced by too much hard cider, awoke to find a new college world with student self-government, the 'new system,' and various other innovations. Even then we realized that we were at the beginning of a new era. The play was written by Alexander Dana Noyes, one of the outstanding men of the class, who would have gained fame as a litterateur if he had not been captured by Wall Street and made an authority on finance.

Several of the colleges supported dramatic organizations, but with few exceptions their performances were given only locally. The college faculties of that period generally were unwilling that students should 'appear as traveling theatrical companies.'

College Journalism

College periodicals had been published for many years, but it was not until 1882 that a serious effort was made toward coöperation and the fixing of a higher standard of college journalism. During the Christmas holidays of that year representatives of the leading college journals met in New York and organized the Intercollegiate Press Association. John Kendrick Bangs,

then a senior at Columbia and one of the editors of the 'Acta Columbiana,' was chairman of the meeting. Frank Dempster Sherman, the poet (Columbia '84), also of the 'Acta,' took a prominent part in the discussion. Howard Allen Bridgman, Amherst, '83, afterward editor of 'The Congregationalist,' was one of the delegates representing the 'Amherst Student,' and was made temporary secretary. Alexander D. Noyes, now financial editor of the 'New York Times,' also represented the 'Student.' Nearly all the important Eastern college journals were represented, and several from the Middle West. The 'Vassar Miscellany' wrote a letter expressing a becoming hesitation at the idea of sending a delegate among so many young men, but wished to be considered a member of the Association — and was welcomed as the first representative of a woman's college.

College journalism in most of the New England colleges was not differentiated as it is to-day. Except at Yale and Harvard one general type of college paper sufficed. This contained college news and comment, personal items, alumni notes, verse, both grave and gay, and 'light articles,' so-called — which were for the most part short stories or sketches of college life. To these were sometimes added more serious matter — essays and various 'literary efforts.' The aim of most of the college journals was to be bright and readable rather than profound, and for the most part they achieved their purpose. The more ambitious of them were the least successful.

Most of the papers of this type were published fortnightly, though some appeared weekly. The editors were generally chosen from the two upper classes.

Outgoing boards elected their successors, judging the candidates on the basis of work that had been presented — and the choices were generally made with fairness, though college politics decreed that the various fraternities should be about equally represented. As a result of this, a good writer sometimes found himself shut out by one less able because there was already a representative of his own fraternity on the board, or because, in the competition, his own fraternity had a more promising candidate. This was one of the evils of interfraternity politics that has never been quite overcome — the handicap that results when several brilliant men are found in the same delegation. But if it is a handicap it is also a test of loyalty and an exercise in altruism; thus it is not without its compensations.

The editors, in addition to the honor — which was considerable — divided among themselves at the end of each college year the profits of their enterprise, and in some cases the profits, too, were considerable, and most welcome if the recipient happened to be paying his own college expenses.

The best known of these general fortnightly or weekly papers in the New England colleges during the eighties were the 'Harvard Advocate,' the 'Yale Courant' and 'Yale Record,' the 'Amherst Student,' 'The Dartmouth,' 'The Williams Argo,' and 'Williams Athenæum.' They all had an honorable history and have had on their editorial boards men who have since become distinguished. In 1880 Theodore Roosevelt was one of the editors of the 'Advocate.' The 'Yale Courant' was established in 1865, the 'Harvard Advocate' in 1866, the 'Amherst Student' and 'The Dart-

mouth' (now the 'Dartmouth Weekly') [1] in 1867, and the 'Yale Record' in 1871.

In addition to these general college papers, a few of the colleges published other types of journals. They were:

a. The *literary magazine*, which antedated the general college paper, and was represented by the 'Yale Lit' (founded 1836), the 'Nassau Lit' (Princeton, 1842), and the 'Harvard Monthly' (1885). The 'Brunonian' of Brown (1829) belonged to this type, though in the eighties it served the purpose of a general college paper.

b. The *daily newspaper*, represented in New England [2] by the 'Yale News' (1878) and the Harvard 'Crimson' founded in 1872 as the 'Magenta' a paper of the general college type, but merged in 1883 with the Harvard 'Echo,' a daily, dating from '79.

c. The *humorous paper*, represented by the 'Harvard Lampoon' started in 1876 and still the leader of its class. The humorous weekly 'Life' was published by ex-editors of the 'Lampoon.'

The college annual is in a class by itself, yet it belongs rightly to college journalism. The annuals of the eighties were far less elaborate than those of to-day, and sold for fifty cents, whereas the modern college annual costs about five dollars. Even more than the journals, they were the mouthpieces of the fraternities, and

[1] To Dartmouth belongs the honor of having published the first college paper in America — the *Gazette*, started by Daniel Webster when he was an undergraduate in 1800.

[2] The idea of a college daily started in the Middle West. The *Daily Illini* of the University of Illinois was established in 1871, and the *Daily Student* of the University of Indiana in 1874.

the editors were generally elected by the fraternity delegations, allowing one editor to represent the non-fraternity element. These annuals, the 'Olio' of Amherst, the 'Ægis' of Dartmouth, the 'Register' of Harvard, the 'Gul' of Williams, and the 'Potpourri' of Yale, contained about the same type of material as their modern successors. Some were rather ambitious, as when the 'Ægis' editors of '84 employed Keppler, the noted cartoonist of 'Puck,' to make for them a double-page cartoon of the Dartmouth faculty as dogs engaged in combat. This referred to the troubles which occurred during President Bartlett's administration. It was probably the most daring faculty grind published during the decade.

It is difficult to compare the college journalism of the eighties and that of to-day without the risk of injustice. For journalism is a reflection of the spirit of the times, and the world has changed since 1880. Doubtless the college journals of that age were more conservative than those of to-day. At the beginning of the eighties an editorial board would have been expelled from college if it had expressed some of the sentiments that are found in the college papers of the present. College journals in that older period were also cleaner than they are now. They contained nothing that under our present postal regulations could debar them from the mails — a situation that has recently confronted several modern college periodicals. College editors in the eighties were perhaps less confident of themselves than are their modern successors. They did not aim to revolutionize society. They did not have a panacea for every ill. Perhaps they were less enterprising than they should have been.

But, after all, there was an easy-going, genial sort of pleasantry in those old papers, that we somehow miss in the college papers of the present. They were content to be *college* papers; they did not aim at more.

CHAPTER IX

THEN AND NOW

RECKONED in terms of achievement, the years since 1880 loom large. Wealth has increased, science has developed new interests, discoveries have broadened the horizons of human knowledge, inventions have lightened labor and overcome the opposition of time and space, thought has been freed from the bondage of tradition, a great war has blotted out old boundaries — intellectual as well as physical — a new world is about us, as different from the world of 1880 as the world of 1880 was different from the world of Washington and Jefferson.

The colleges, which, as we have seen, began in the early eighties to feel the urge of the new life and thought, naturally expanded under it and increased in size and influence. Comparing the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1880 and for 1921 (which is the latest report published as this book goes to press), we find the significant figures shown in the table on page 304.

The increase in the number of students in our colleges marks a growth in influence and prosperity, but is it, after all, an unmixed gain? The questions that should interest us are whether the increase in numbers has strengthened or weakened the efficiency of the colleges themselves, whether the increment is legitimate material for higher education, whether the colleges might not perform a greater service by educating a smaller number of young men who enter them with a

purpose than by exposing to intellectual contagion a larger number who drift into them and who will make little use of college opportunities. In the eighties a majority of the students went to college to prepare for the learned professions — the ministry, the law, medicine, teaching. To-day the larger part go into business.

College [1]	1880		1921	
	Students	Faculty	Students	Faculty
Harvard	886	56	2678	345
Yale	687	41	2421	201
Wellesley	372	40	1492	148
Amherst	339	25	520	56
Dartmouth	247	15	1925	152
Brown	247	17	1422 [4]	114
Williams	227	12	583	50
Mt. Holyoke	226	35	782	87
Smith	214	26	1972	187
Wesleyan [2]	163	19	540	52
Bowdoin	149	13	445	32
Colby [3]	149	8	486 [5]	29
Bates [3]	133	7	555 [6]	29
Boston University [3]	107	18	720 [7]	43
Trinity	101	8	245	33
Holy Cross	91	19	750	36
Tufts	63	12	814 [8]	99
University of Vermont [3]	63	10	301 [9]	47
Middlebury [3]	39	8	487 [10]	45

Far be it from us to suggest that a college education is unimportant to the business man. Life is more than a vocation, and even if it were not, the wider outlook that a college education affords is an aid to ultimate success in any vocation which reaches beyond the veriest commonplace. A boy may go to college to pre-

[1] In the case of universities, the figures for the college department or 'College of Arts and Sciences,' are given.
[2] Co-educational until 1912.
[3] Co-educational.
[4] Men 1091; women 331.
[5] Men 288; women 198.
[6] Men 318; women 237.
[7] Men 220; women 500.
[8] Men 610; women 204.
[9] Men 146; women 155.
[10] Men 241; women 246.

pare for a broader and more successful business career, as he formerly went to prepare for a professional career, and many are doing it, but the fact remains that a larger number to-day are not thinking of fitting themselves for anything at all, and that the proportion of these aimless ones is much larger than it was in the eighties, when a college education was regarded as leading to a definite goal.

The increase in the number of purposeless students is due to several causes. First, and chiefly, because it is easier for parents to send a boy to college now than then. The growing prosperity of the age now enables the average man to give his son a college education without the sacrifices that were then required. It enables boys who in 1880 would have been obliged to earn their own way, wholly or in part, to go through college now without much thought of the financial problem.

The second reason is that it has become fashionable to go to college — and it is this that is bringing into our colleges the major part of the undesirables. Boys having no intellectual interests go because they think a college man stands a little higher in the social scale than a man who has not been to college. A college man has the reputation, at least, of being educated. He is eligible to membership in university clubs; he may enter social cliques from which the non-college man is excluded.

A third reason is shown in a thrifty desire to form lucrative friendships — for business purposes or for personal advancement in after-life. This is a motive that probably influences the fathers more than the boys themselves, but it brings in a sinister element that is affecting the earlier sincerity and good-fellowship of college life.

A fourth reason is the lure of college athletics and the remarkable interest that the public at large is taking in them. A boy goes to one of the big college football games in New York or Boston or Chicago, catches the excitement of the hour and goes home with the conviction that *there* is something worth while. He will take the chance of 'getting by' in his exams if he can live four years in such an atmosphere. A large and increasing number of boys go to college simply for the college life, and fortunately for them and for the colleges many of them are dropped at the end of the first term or the first year.

The increase in the number of boys who are led to the colleges for other reasons than that of being educated is one of the most serious handicaps that higher education has to meet to-day. The strongest asset of a college is an atmosphere charged with enthusiasm for learning. It is found where numbers of young men gather for definite purposes of study. But the injection of any considerable proportion of aimless or careless seekers after pleasure will inevitably weaken if not destroy it. A college can assimilate a certain number of such students and help to stabilize them, but there is a point beyond which the load becomes too heavy. Are we reaching that point to-day? Is it not a real danger that confronts us? Is this overloading process fair to those who come to college for study?

The Teaching Force

In the eighties the college faculties were smaller than they are to-day, and the average classroom divisions were larger. In 1880 the ratio of instructors to students at Yale, a typical large college, and at Williams, a typ-

ical small college, was the same — one to seventeen. At Harvard and at Dartmouth the ratio was one to sixteen; at Brown one to fifteen; at Amherst one to thirteen. To-day the average ratio is about one to ten. This makes it possible for the student to receive more personal attention.

In scope and accuracy of scholarship college teaching is much better now than in the eighties. With the world's increase in knowledge, wider preparation is demanded of the teacher. A professor in the eighties would find himself unequipped and out of date in a modern classroom. Yet the teacher's power, after all, lies not so much in his knowledge as in his ability to impart it — and not so much in his ability to impart it as to create an enthusiasm for it. Judged by this standard, some of the teachers of the eighties — Garman and Norton and Sumner and Perry and Andrews and Hyde and Richardson, for example, have not been surpassed, if indeed they have been equalled. The great teachers of the world have been distinguished by personality rather than scholarship.

An advantage that the smaller college of the eighties had over the larger college of to-day — and that the smaller college of to-day has over its larger contemporaries — was, and is, that in the smaller college the student is brought to a greater extent under the teaching of the heads of departments. Perhaps the assistant professors and instructors of to-day are better teachers than the heads of departments were in the eighties, but it is not safe to generalize. Teachers, like poets, are born, not made, and a scholarly equipment is only one element of the teacher's power.

With the increasing complexity of our modern col-

lege organization, our teachers are being commandeered as deans or presidents and are abandoning the most important work of the college — that for which the college exists — in order to fill merely administrative positions. This is regarded as a promotion and is rewarded by an increased salary, but in reality it is not so; for no work of the college requires higher talents and more arduous preparation, or deserves greater compensation that that of the teacher. Professor Fred Lewis Pattee (Dartmouth '88) of Pennsylvania State College has in a recent book made some trenchant remarks on this subject.[1] Referring to Garfield's oft-repeated definition of a college as 'a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a student on the other,' he affirms that the 'log' has become so large as to overshadow 'Mark Hopkins' — in other words, the college has supplanted the teacher. A professor who has brains and ability and a real aptitude for teaching and who has spent years preparing himself as a specialist in some highly technical branch of human knowledge becomes a president without a classroom. 'He never meets the students save at opening or closing convocation or at athletic mass-meetings. He has become a mere administrator, the business manager of a great plant, a peripatetic raiser of funds, an applauded lecturer before women's clubs and rotary clubs and boards of trade, a dignitary in gorgeous robes at intercollegiate functions, resplendent at commencements, an absentee for long periods from the college campus. Or, failing this, he has become a dean, a functionary who also does no teaching, or he has been "elevated" into some

[1] F. L. Pattee: *Tradition and Jazz*, Century Company, New York, 1925.

other executive office that carries with it no classroom duties. And in the old chair which each of these men once efficiently occupied sits a subordinate instructor whose chief qualification for his position is his willingness to work his whole life long for small wages. And the "log" — the log has been sawed and quartered and miraculously multiplied and piled toward heaven and bedecked and embellished until it has become the dominating element in the definition.'

This indictment may be too severe, but it points out a real danger into which we are drifting.

It is clear that the modern undergraduate enjoys one advantage which the student of the eighties did not have, namely, a closer personal acquaintance with his instructor. With the passing of formalism in teaching there is less reserve between teacher and student; with the greater maturity of the student there is a basis for real companionship. In the eighties a student might dislike his instructor or might reverence him or might be indifferent to him, but he was never familiar with him. To-day he meets him on more nearly equal terms; he plays golf or tennis with him; smokes with him; and if the familiarity so engendered proves the teacher to be made of very human stuff, it at the same time gives him the greater influence of friendship. In the eighties, if a student showed any personal interest in an instructor, or any desire to be friendly, he was suspected of 'supe-ing' or 'stacking rank' — which, as every college man of that period remembers, were the vernacular for trying to curry favor and thereby obtain higher marks or a more lenient attitude toward delinquencies. To-day there is less danger of this situation.

The Cost of an Education

The pursuit of a diploma in the eighties was a simpler matter than it is to-day. There were fewer luxuries, fewer amusements, and fewer 'activities.' In the Williams College catalogue for 1880 it is announced that the cost of tuition is thirty dollars per term — or ninety dollars per year; room rent in the dormitories fifteen to thirty dollars per year; board in College Hall two dollars and a half per week. As one of our correspondents remarks, 'The tuition was worth the price, but the board was not.'

At Dartmouth the tuition was the same as at Williams, while the average cost of board as reported to the United States Commissioner of Education was two dollars and seventy-five cents per week. At Amherst expenses were slightly more — tuition one hundred dollars, room rent in the dormitories eighteen to forty-five dollars per year, and board from three to five dollars per week. At Yale, it was still more — tuition one hundred and forty dollars, board from three to six dollars. The summit of extravagance was reached at Harvard, where tuition was one hundred and fifty dollars and board from three dollars and a half to eight dollars per week. President Eliot, in his annual report for '86–'87 discusses the subject of college expenses at Harvard, saying that board at Memorial Hall was then four dollars and sixteen cents per week. He continues, 'The advantages of college life can now be had for the modest sum of eight hundred dollars per year, while five hundred dollars will cover all necessary expenses.'

Comparing these figures with college expenses of to-day, we find that the cost of an education has increased

nearly fourfold. It should be remembered that the purchasing power of the dollar is much less now than then, and that the figures must not be taken too literally; yet, after making all allowances, it is clear that there is a great increase. This increase is due not only to the increased cost of the necessities of life, but in a greater degree to the demands for a higher standard of living. Board that cost two dollars and a half per week in the eighties would not be tolerated by the undergraduate of to-day. The danger then was that the student should not get enough to eat; now, it is that he shall eat too much. Fortunately, youth has great powers of assimilation, and the present danger is not so serious as was the former.

As a single example of the demand for something better, or more luxurious, the college yearbook at Amherst — the 'Olio' — was published during the early eighties at fifty cents per copy. The present 'Olio' sells at five dollars. The earlier book had a stiff paper cover, was well printed, and contained as much material — and perhaps as good material — as its modern successor, but the 'Olio' of to-day is an *edition de luxe*, with limp leather cover, upon which the buyer's name is stamped in gold. Probably this extreme was brought about by the effort of each class to make a little better book than the preceding class had made — or as good a book as some other college had made — but competition is sometimes disastrous. This is an example of the quite unwarranted expenses which increase the difficulties of financing a modern college education for those of slender means.

It has been said that during the eighties there were a larger number of boys in college who were obliged to

earn their own way. The colleges provided for this by having a longer winter vacation — Dartmouth allowed four weeks and gave to students who wished to teach enough additional time to enable them to take a twelve-weeks school — the understanding being that on returning to college they should pass an examination upon the work that the class had pursued during their absence. A large number of students availed themselves of this privilege, and the professors, knowing the necessity of the situation, made the examinations of the returning pedagogues as easy as possible.

While the teaching of a country school interfered somewhat with one's college studies, the knowledge of human nature that one gained from it was ample compensation. Whittier's schoolmaster in 'Snowbound' sitting with the family before the hearthstone, singing songs and telling 'what befalls in classic Dartmouth's college halls' was as true a picture in the eighties as it was in the poet's boyhood more than a half-century before.

Another favorite means of increasing one's resources was to get a 'job' at a summer hotel. There was sometimes a choice position obtainable as clerk or bookkeeper, but most of the college students went as waiters. This experience, too, was valuable, as well as remunerative. It gave a view of human nature from a different standpoint. And a student could earn — including 'tips' that fell to him — a hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars in a summer. That doesn't sound very large now, but it meant more then — and if the boy taught school or got a job in an office for the winter, and had a chance to act as commissary or waiter at

a college eating club during term time, he could, with the aid of a scholarship to cover his tuition, pay all expenses and sometimes come out a little ahead.

To-day, also, there are many boys who earn their way through college, and some of the same methods are employed — together with others which have been developed by modern life. All honor to the boys who are doing it! Their education will have a value to them that it cannot have to those who have made no sacrifices to obtain it. And if they are somewhat handicapped in their class work, they are gaining experience, developing independence and initiative, and learning the value of time and labor.

Physical Development

Physically the undergraduate of to-day is a better creature than his prototype of the former generation. He is better nourished, better cared for, better developed. Men of the eighties will remember classmates who came from the farms with shoulders bent by premature hard work. It is not so to-day. Athletic sports are largely responsible for the modern undergraduate's even development. The college now aims to provide exercise, so far as possible, through outdoor sports instead of indoor gym practice and to provide enough tennis courts, squash courts, swimming pools, baseball diamonds, football grids, running-tracks, and other athletic property to furnish sport and stimulating exercise for the average student who is not skillful enough to 'make' one of the teams. This motivates his exercise and increases its efficacy. The modern collegian has everything in his favor to make him a superb physi-

cal being, and he is becoming so. We need have no fear that the race is deteriorating.

The Intellectual Outlook

But there are many college men of middle age — and beyond — who feel that while the modern undergraduate may be improving physically he has not the intellectual stamina of the former generation. A fear is expressed that the process of choosing attractive studies and working along lines of least resistance educationally is producing flabby minds. Especially is it feared that the abandonment of the requirements for Greek, Latin, and mathematics, and the mental discipline which those rigid studies afforded, is tending to intellectual decay. This is natural enough. It is the parental instinct to worry about one's offspring and to fear that they will not develop the sterling qualities of their forbears. Each generation has always looked askance at the succeeding generation when the youngsters did not follow inherited methods.

The special reason for these fears is probably found in the new and undesirable element that has been mentioned as now flocking to our colleges. They bring the average down. But it is our belief that the better class of undergraduates to-day are quite as strong intellectually as their fathers were. If they do not have the mental discipline that comes from the study of Greek or the prolonged study of Latin, they get it in other ways. With the introduction of the newer studies and the crowding of the curriculum they have plenty of work to make and keep their minds active — undoubtedly more work than the older generation was obliged to do.

It is safe to say that they know more than the undergraduate of the eighties knew. They have a broader culture. If they cannot read Greek, they have a speaking knowledge of French or German or Spanish or Italian such as their predecessors never had. 'College French' has ceased to be a reproach and has become a real educational asset.

They not only know more of the knowledge to be learned from books, but they know more of men and affairs, and have a better preparation to meet the demands of modern life. They have many more contacts with the outside world. They are sure of themselves — perhaps, often, too sure of themselves — but so was the former generation. With their modern preparation they probably have a better reason to be sure of themselves. Responsibilities have strengthened them. Increased outside 'activities,' while they take more of the student's time than they should, are not altogether valueless, as they give him a training in practical affairs that makes him more alert and resourceful.[1]

There is, before us, a printed report of the senior honor society of Dartmouth, 'The Palæopitus,' offering a carefully thought-out plan for a revision of the course of study and for certain college administrative reforms. It probably is not the final solution of the questions either of curriculum or administration but it

[1] Most college instructors of the present time feel that the 'outside activities' are being greatly overdone. Professor Henry D. Wild of Williams writes: 'Perhaps the greatest handicap in our modern education is the diversity and distraction of interests outside the curriculum. When I was in college there was an atmosphere of quiet. It was a real "school," which, of course, by derivation means "leisure." We had time for things. Now we live in a caldron of boiling "activities." I am reminded of Stephen Leacock's character who "mounted his horse and rode off rapidly in all directions."'

is an excellent piece of work, showing both maturity of thought and originality. It is considered by the faculty as a real contribution to their problems. Similarly a committee of the Harvard Student Council, which has been studying possible improvements in college administration and life, has recently presented a thoughtful and constructive report favoring the splitting-up of the university into a dozen or more 'quads' or groups, after the manner of Oxford and Cambridge, in the hope of securing social solidarity and more personal attention on the part of instructors. Such activities on the part of students would have been impossible in the eighties, not only because the faculty would have resented it but because the students themselves had not the maturity of thought or the initiative to evolve and carry it through.

Manners and Morals

No college man of the older generation who is really acquainted with the modern undergraduate and who has not either forgotten or spread a haze of glory about his own college days, will deny that the modern student is far more of a gentleman than was the student of the eighties. The development is natural and inevitable. America was younger and cruder then than now, and excepting a favored class in the East and South, to whom we now refer as 'the old school,' courtesy was not a characteristic of the period. Then, college students came mostly from the farms; to-day a larger proportion come from the cities. The catalogue of Dartmouth for 1880 shows that only eleven students out of an enrollment of 228, or a little less than five per cent — came from cities of one hundred thousand or more pop-

ulation, or their suburbs; the catalogue for 1925 shows that 958 of an enrollment of 2034, or more than forty-seven per cent, came from cities of that class. The polish of urban life, as well as the increasing culture of the country at large is responsible in great measure for the improvement. A contributing cause has already been mentioned in connection with the changed attitude of the colleges toward the student. Students are now treated like men and are given the responsibilities of men; police government has been removed; a code of honor has been substituted for a system of penalties. The change of treatment has done much toward banishing the old-time rowdyism. If those who complain that college boys to-day are rude and noisy, could see what went on in the dormitories and classrooms forty years ago, they would feel that the modern collegian is a model of deportment.

It is hard to characterize a group, because a group is made up of individuals, all different. Some reader of this paragraph will have in mind a college youth of quite another sort than that which has been pictured, and will take this known example of the type. There are rowdies in college to-day as there were in the eighties, but there is not nearly so large a proportion of them. They do not serenade the president on tin horns at night, or throw chalk or beans or lighted firecrackers at the professor when his back is turned. Those days are past, and they will never return. Courtesy is a close concomitant of education, and the fact that the college boys of to-day are more courteous than their predecessors points hopefully toward the success of the educational experiment.

But it is not the question of manners as much as of

morals that causes the critics of our modern youth the greatest concern. Some say that the rising generation has lost the moral sense. A college instructor writes a book which purports to be a picture of modern undergraduate life, and with that passion for the unpleasant, the diseased, and the abnormal which characterizes popular modern fiction, he selects a group of students who represent the darkest side of college life and morals. In some colleges there are probably such conditions — as there are in life outside of the colleges — but they are not characteristic. The same writer, turning his attention to another group of students, much larger and more representative, could describe — if he cared to — clean morals and high ideals, but these are not popular subjects for twentieth-century fiction.

Much has been said of drinking in the colleges. Doubtless there was during and after the war considerable drinking. There was more of it outside of the colleges. But drinking is now recognized by the better class of students as a scandal and a reproach to their college and it is being stamped out by the undergraduates themselves, through student councils, fraternity committees, and other organized means. A tragic feature of the situation is that these committees are finding their most serious handicap in certain alumni who come back to commencement with flasks in their pockets to celebrate their reunions and live over the 'good old times.' A college reflects the spirit and ideals of the age. It should be, and is, better than the age, but it is inevitably influenced by it. When solid citizens of forty or thereabout stop carrying flasks and boasting of the contents of their cellars, there will be less drinking in college.

We hear much about social vice in the colleges, but we have the testimony of eminent college physicians and of others who are in a position to know, to the effect that there is less vice in the colleges than there was forty years ago.

What was the state of college morals in the eighties? Many men of that time have forgotten — and perhaps it is just as well to forget. Others never knew what went on — for in those days there was a sharper distinction between the sheep and the goats. The goats flocked by themselves and did not advertise their doings. The sheep knew that the goats were a bad lot but did not always know how bad. There were also, of course, some who were neither sheep nor goats: they viewed the doings of the goats rather indulgently, though they did not participate. There are always such. To-day the extremes are nearer together and the middle class is the dominant one. It blends almost imperceptibly at either end into the two other classes. There is more tolerance and less outstanding vice or virtue.

The present age is often referred to as an age of the individual, but though we talk a great deal about individualism we have very little of it. There is a striving after unique expression in art and literature and music, but the results are for the most part artificial if not grotesque. There was more real individualism in the eighties than there is to-day — and by that is meant the distinction of character and behavior that makes one man different from another. The college student of the eighties found it hard to get along, and the struggle made him self-centered as well as self-reliant. Now the average undergraduate finds life rather more agreeable, is more thoughtful of his fellows, and is probably

more influenced by them. Students to-day are much more alike than they were in the eighties. They wear the same kind of caps, the same cut of trousers, the same variety of 'slickers' and coonskin overcoats — they talk the same slang and have much the same easy air of knowing the world. You may tell a collegian to-day wherever you meet him.

It is an open question how far a man may follow his group without losing identity. A certain degree of uniformity makes for a better society, but the standardizing process seems to be going rather too far — and there is some reason to fear that in some cases character is being sacrificed to custom. The eighties, with all their roughness, their rowdyism, and their irregularities, produced a hardy race of men. Let us look at the roster of the New England colleges for that decade. Here are some of the outstanding names:

HARVARD: Theodore Roosevelt, '80, President of the United States; Robert Bacon, '80, Secretary of State and Ambassador to France; Albert Bushnell Hart, '80, Professor of History at Harvard; Boies Penrose, '81, United States Senator; George A. Gordon, '81, distinguished preacher and author; Curtis Guild, '81, Governor of Massachusetts and Ambassador to Russia; Charles MacVeagh, '81, Ambassador to Japan; William Roscoe Thayer, '81, historian and biographer; Robert Codman, '82, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maine; Owen Wister, '82, novelist; George L. Kittredge, '82, Professor of English at Harvard, and author; Alfred C. Lane, '83, Professor of Geology at Tufts College, and author; John F. Moors, '83, prominent banker and political reformer; Herbert Putnam, '83, Librarian of Congress; Edmund S. Rousmaniere, '83, distinguished preacher; John H. Wigmore, '83, Dean Northwestern University, and

Above: THEODORE ROOSEVELT, HARVARD, 1880; CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, BROWN, 1881

Below: ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG. AMHERST, 1883; GIFFORD PINCHOT, YALE, 1889

author of 'Wigmore on Evidence'; John Jay Chapman, '84, author; Reverend Samuel A. Eliot, '84, President of the American Unitarian Association; Thomas Mott Osborne, '84, penologist; Roland W. Boyden, '85, international financier; Arthur Gordon Webster, '85, Professor of Physics, Clark University; Edward T. Sanford, '85, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; William S. Thayer, '85, Professor of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University; Paul Revere Frothingham, '86, distinguished preacher and author; Alanson B. Houghton, '86, Ambassador to Germany and Great Britain; George Santayana, '86, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard; George Edwin Howes, '86, Professor of Ancient Languages and Dean at Williams College; Theodore W. Richards, '86, Professor of Chemistry at Harvard and Nobel Laureate in Chemistry; George Pierce Baker, '87, director of '47 Workshop' at Harvard, and Professor of Dramatic Literature at Yale; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, '87, editor and biographer; Byron S. Hurlbut, '87, Professor of English and Dean at Harvard; Franklin C. Southworth, '87, President of Meadville Theological Seminary; Alonzo R. Weed, '87, Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts; Garrett Droppers, '87, Professor of Economics at Williams, Minister to Greece; Charles Francis Adams, '88, Treasurer of Harvard; James A. Gallivan, '88, United States Congressman; Larz Anderson, '88, Ambassador to Belgium and Japan; Ezra Ripley Thayer, '88, Dean of Harvard Law School; Rowland B. Mahany, '88, editor, Congressman, and Minister to Ecuador; George H. Mead, '88, Professor of Philosophy at Chicago University; Henry Pennypacker, '88, Director of Admissions at Harvard; Richard C. Cabot, '89, eminent physician and Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard; John Pierpont Morgan, '89, financier; James Hardy Ropes, '89, Professor of Divinity at Harvard, and theologian; Clifford H. Moore, '89, Professor of Latin at Harvard; Norman Hapgood,'90,

author, editor, and Minister to Denmark; Sidney E. Mezes, '90, President College of the City of New York; Evarts B. Greene, '90, Professor of History at Columbia; Edwin V. Morgan, '90, Ambassador to Brazil; Fred W. Atkinson, '90, President of Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute; Curtis H. Page, '90, author, editor, and Professor of English Literature at Dartmouth; Raymond Weeks, '90, Professor of Romance Philology at Columbia; Harry E. Burton, '90, Professor of Latin at Dartmouth; Raymond Calkins, '90, distinguished preacher, and author.

YALE: Walter Camp, '80, author and authority on athletics; Frank Goodrich, '80, Professor of History, Williams College; Frederic W. Keator, '80, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Olympia; Samuel W. Lambert, '80, Dean of Columbia Medical School; Sidney C. Partridge, '80, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Kansas City; Benjamin W. Bacon, '81, Professor of New Testament Criticism at Yale; George W. Wheeler, '81, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut; Frank F. Abbott, '82, Professor of Latin, Princeton College, President of American Philological Association; Benjamin Brewster, '82, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maine; Alfred B. Kittredge, '82, United States Senator; Tun-yen Liang, '82, Chinese Minister to United States; Edward I. Bosworth, '83, Dean of Oberlin Divinity School, and author; Charles W. Harkness, '83, financier, — of whom the Harkness Quadrangle is a memorial; Marcus Morton, '83, Judge of Superior Court of Massachusetts; David Kinley, '84, President of the University of Illinois; Frank B. Brandegee, '85, United States Senator; Wilbur L. Cross, '85, editor of the 'Yale Review'; John W. Platner, '85, Church Historian and Dean of Andover Theological Seminary; George E. Vincent, '85, President of the Rockefeller Foundation and former President of the University of Minnesota; William Adams Brown, '86, eminent theologian;

Chauncey W. Goodrich, '86, distinguished preacher; Ira C. Copley, '87, Member of the United States Congress; William Lyon Phelps, '87, Professor of English Literature at Yale University, critic and author; Alonzo A. Stagg, '88, Professor of Physical Culture at the University of Chicago; Irving Fisher, '88, Professor of Political Science at Yale and eminent statistician; Henry L. Stimson, '88, Secretary of War; Clifford W. Barnes, '89, Sociologist and President of Illinois College; Samuel H. Fisher, '89, eminent lawyer, Secretary of Commonwealth Fund, member of the Yale Corporation; Charles Foster Kent, '89, Professor of Biblical Literature at Yale University, and author; Robert Lee Luce, '89, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York; Edward L. Parsons, '89, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of California; Gifford Pinchot, '89, Chief of the United States Forestry Department, and Governor of Pennsylvania; Thomas F. Bayard, '90, United States Senator from Delaware; Fairfax Harrison, '90, President of Southern Railway Company; Elliot Proctor Joslin, M.D., '90, authority on diabetes and insulin treatment; Herbert Parsons, '90, United States Congressman from New York State; Evarts Tracy, '90, eminent architect, head of the camouflage service of United States Army in France; Wallace D. Simmons, '90, President of Simmons Hardware Company, prominent in national banking circles.

DARTMOUTH: Webster Thayer, '80, of the Massachusetts Supreme Court; Myron W. Adams, '81, President of Atlanta University; Samuel D. Felker, '82, Governor of New Hampshire; George M. Ward, '82, President of Rollins College and, later, of Wells College; Charles F. Mathewson, '82, prominent lawyer and trustee of Dartmouth; William E. Strong, '82, Secretary of American Board of Foreign Missions; Sidney C. Gulick, '83, Secretary of National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation and

of National Committee on American-Japanese Relations; William White Niles, '83, lawyer and Parkway Commissioner, New York; Benjamin Tenney, '83, physician and surgeon, formerly on faculties of Harvard Medical College and Tufts; John Pickard, '83, Professor of Classical Archæology at University of Missouri; Louis Bell, '84, engineer; Charles A. Dinsmore, '84, Dante scholar and professor in Yale Divinity School; George D. Lord, '84, Professor of Greek at Dartmouth; Richard Hovey, '85, poet; Otis E. Hovey, '85, engineer; Morrill Goddard, '85, editor of 'New York Sunday American'; Herbert D. Foster, '85, author and Professor of History at Dartmouth; Samuel H. Hudson, '85, lawyer and holder of various legal positions under Boston City Government; Edwin B. Frost, '86, astronomer and director of Yerkes Observatory; Arthur Fairbanks, '86, director of Boston Art Museum; Leslie P. Snow, '86, Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court; John M. Gile, '87, Dean of Dartmouth Medical College; Fred A. Howland, '87, President National Life Insurance Company of Vermont; George H. Bingham, '87, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire; Fred Lewis Pattee, '88, Professor of American Literature at Pennsylvania State College; William B. Forbush, '88, author of books on boys and child study; Newton M. Hall, '88, clergyman and author; Ozora S. Davis, '89, President of Chicago Theological Seminary; Charles D. Hazen, '89, Professor of History at Columbia, and writer on historical subjects; John Barrett, '89, diplomat and Director-General of the Pan-American Union; George H. Moses, '90, United States Senator from New Hampshire; Henry H. Hilton, '90, trustee of Dartmouth, donor of 'Hilton Field,' and member of the publishing firm of Ginn and Company.

AMHERST: Edward W. Bemis, '80, economist and author; Arthur L. Gillett, '80, professor in Hartford Theological

Seminary; Lawrence F. Abbott, '81, editor of the 'Outlook'; James F. Kemp, '81, Professor of Geology at Columbia; Starr J. Murphy, '81, Counsel of Rockefeller Foundation; Wilford L. Robbins, '81, Dean of the General Theological Seminary, New York; Howard S. Bliss, '82, President of the American University at Beirut, Syria; Roland Cotton Smith, Charles S. Mills, and Lucius H. Thayer, '82, distinguished clergymen; Frank C. Partridge, '82, Minister to Venezuela and President of Vermont Marble Company; William Travers Jerome, '82–'83, District Attorney of New York City; Arthur P. Rugg, '83, Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court; Rush Rhees, '83, President of the University of Rochester; Williston Walker, '83, Provost and Professor of History at Yale University; Alexander D. Noyes, '83, financial editor of the 'New York Times' and authority on international finance; Howard A. Bridgman, '83, editor of the 'Congregationalist'; Henry Fairbank, '83, missionary and President of the Marathi Industrial School and Marathi Theological Seminary, India; Edward S. Parsons, '83, President of Marietta College; Henry T. Rainey, '83, Member of the United States Congress from Illinois; John B. Walker, '83, distinguished surgeon; Wallace C. Boyden, '83, President of Boston Teachers College; James H. Tufts, '84, Professor of Philosophy and Vice-President of the University of Chicago; William S. Rossiter, '84, publisher and census expert; Walter F. Willcox, '84, Dean at Cornell, statistician and census expert; Herbert D. Ward, '84, author; Sir Herbert B. Ames, '85, of the Canadian Parliament, and financial secretary of the League of Nations; William G. Thayer, '85, Headmaster of Saint Mark's School; Robert Lansing, '86, Secretary of State under President Wilson; Clyde Fitch, '86, playwright; Allen T. Treadway, '86, Member of the United States Congress from Massachusetts; Robert A. Woods, '86, writer and lecturer on social economics and head of the South End House, Boston;

George F. Kenngott, '86, missionary administrator; Milo H. Gates, '86, distinguished preacher; Alvan F. Sanborn, '87, journalist and author; Arthur C. Rounds, '87, prominent lawyer and trustee of Amherst; Arthur V. Davis, '88, President Aluminum Company of America; William P. Bigelow, '89, Professor of Music at Amherst; Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, '89, Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the Graduate School of Columbia University; Frank E. Spaulding, '89, Professor of School Administration at Yale; Arthur Curtiss James, '89, financier; George B. Churchill, '89, Professor of English at Amherst and Member of the United States Congress from Massachusetts; Forris J. Moore, '89, Professor of Chemistry in Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William H. Day, '89, distinguished clergyman; Charles S. Whitman, '90, Governor of New York.

WILLIAMS: John M. Killits, '80, able judge in Toledo, Ohio; Bliss Perry, '81, literary critic, essayist, and biographer, Trustee of Williams College, Professor of English Literature at Harvard; Henry Lafavour, '83, President of Simmons College; George C. F. Bratenahl, '83, Dean of Washington Cathedral, D.C.; Calvin M. Clark, '84, professor in the Bangor Theological Seminary; Harry P. Dewey, eminent preacher in Minneapolis, and Trustee of Williams College; Harry A. Garfield, '85, President of Williams College, and Fuel Administrator during the War; James R. Garfield, '85, Secretary of the Interior in President Roosevelt's Cabinet; Stephen B. L. Penrose, '85, President of Whitman College, Washington; Henry B. Ward, '85, Professor of Zoölogy in University of Illinois; George W. Anderson, '86, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; Robert G. Aitken, '87, Astronomer of the Lick Observatory, California; Carroll L. Maxcy, '87, Professor of English and Dean at Williams College; John S. Zelie, '87, preacher, writer, and member of special mission

to Russia; George L. Richardson, '88, prominent Protestant Episcopal clergyman; Henry D. Wild, '88, Professor of Latin at Williams College; J. Addison Young, '88, Justice of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York; J. Danforth Bush, Lieutenant-Governor of Delaware; Matthias Nicoll, head of the New York State Department of Health; Frank Jewett Mather, '89, Professor of Art at Princeton College; William P. Sidley, '89, trustee of Williams College and a prominent lawyer; Bainbridge Colby, '90, Secretary of State in Cabinet of President Wilson; Carroll Perry, '90, author, writer for the 'Atlantic Monthly,' and minister; Hale Holden, '90, President of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway; Justice Charles C. Nott, Jr., of the General Sessions, New York City; William M. Grosvenor, first Dean of the Cathedral of St. John in New York.

BROWN: W. H. P. Faunce, '80, President of Brown University; Samuel H. Ordway, '80, of the New York Supreme Court; Charles E. Hughes, '81, Secretary of State under Presidents Harding and Coolidge; Arthur B. Corthell, '81, engineer; Sam Walter Foss, '82, poet and writer; Edwin A. Grozier, '82, publisher of 'Boston Post'; Walter Ballou Jacobs, '82, Professor of Education at Brown; Charles M. Sheldon, '83, author of 'In His Steps' and other popular religious novels; Edward C. Stokes, '83, Governor of New Jersey; A. W. Anthony, '83, theologian; H. C. Bumpus, '84, President of Tufts College and Director of the American Museum of Natural History; Otis E. Randall, '84, Dean of Brown University; George G. Wilson, '86, Professor of International Law at Harvard; Dana C. Munro, '87, Professor of History at Princeton; Clarence A. Barbour, '88, President of Rochester Theological Seminary; Carl C. Plehn, '89, Professor of Finance and Dean of the College of Commerce, University of California; Walter P. Hall, '89,

Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts; Herbert A. Rice, '89, Attorney-General of Rhode Island.

BOWDOIN: Daniel J. McGillicuddy, '81, Member of the United States Congress; Frederick C. Stevens, '81, long in the United States Congress from Minnesota; Edwin U. Curtis, '82, Mayor of Boston and Police Commissioner; William A. Moody, '82, Acting President, and on the faculty for forty-two years, at Bowdoin College; Arthur G. Staples, '82, journalist and essayist, editor of the Lewiston, Maine, 'Journal'; Charles C. Hutchins, '83, Professor of Physics at Bowdoin College; Charles Cutler Torrey, '84, a member of the Yale faculty and Semitic scholar; John A. Peters, '85, Judge of the United States District Court, and a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States; Frank N. Whittier, M.D., '85, teacher, pathologist, bacteriologist; on the Bowdoin faculty since graduation; Austin Cary, '87, pioneer forestry expert; Albert W. Tolman, '88, writer for the 'Youth's Companion,' and author of several books; Bernard C. Carroll, '89, prominent in telephone business on the Pacific coast; James L. Doherty, '89, attorney in Springfield, Massachusetts, and trustee of the Boston & Maine Railroad; Daniel Evans, '90, Professor of Divinity at Harvard.

WESLEYAN: William E. Mead, '81, Professor of English at Wesleyan; Elmer T. Merrill, '81, Professor of Latin at University of Chicago; Karl P. Harrington, '82, Professor of Latin at Wesleyan; Henry S. White, '82, Professor of Mathematics at Vassar; Edward B. Van Vleck, '84, Professor of Mathematics at University of Wisconsin; David G. Downey, '84, editor, President of Board of Trustees of Wesleyan; Arthur E. Sutherland, '85, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York; Edward B. Rosa, '86, Chief Physicist of Bureau of Standards; John C. Clark, '86, Justice of the Supreme

Court of New York and President of the New York State Civil Service Commission; Herbert Welch, '87, President of Ohio Wesleyan University and a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; A. L. Treadwell, '88, Professor of Biology at Vassar; Frederick M. Davenport, '89, Professor of Law and Politics at Hamilton College, and Representative in Congress; Stockton Axson, '90, Professor of English at Rice Institute.

TUFTS: Frederick W. Hamilton, '80, former President of Tufts; Lee S. McCollester, '81, Dean of Crane Theological School; Arthur W. Peirce, '82, Headmaster of Dean Academy; Fred S. Pearson, '83, Chief Engineer Metropolitan Street Railways; Charles H. Darling, '84, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Winthrop L. Marvin, '84, General Manager American Steamship Association; Milton G. Starrett, '86, Consulting Engineer New York Central Railway; Waldo L. Cook, '87, editor of Springfield Republican; Leo Rich Lewis, '87, composer; John G. Sargent, '87, Attorney-General of the United States; Robert C. Brown, '88, engineer in important developments in Mexico, Spain, and Brazil; Frank W. Durkee, '88, organizer of Chemistry Department at Tufts, and industrial research chemist; Thomas O. Marvin, '88, Chairman United States Tariff Commission.

Will the youngsters who are now in college fill the places of these men and do their work as worthily? When we consider the average, there may be cause for doubt, but it is not the average that fills our positions of high trust; it is the few, and we believe there are in college to-day men better equipped for the struggle than the men of the eighties were equipped, and quite as likely to succeed.

We have spoken of strength as the element of charac-

ter that marked the men of the eighties. But strength is not the only element to be desired; honor is more important. Honor was found among the better men of that former generation but it is far more prevalent among the college men of the present. The change is in part a reflection of the outside world, which is more honest than it was in the eighties. That older day was distinguished for corruption in politics and dishonesty in business. It is not strange that loose ideas of honor should have found their way into the colleges.

In the eighties 'cribbing' in examinations was reduced to a science. The most elaborate cribs were manufactured. A favorite was a strip of paper rolled on two little sticks — or matches — after the method of an old Roman manuscript, but so small that it could be hidden in the hand — and in this roll, written in the finest hand, was the important part of a term's work in calculus — or rules of Greek syntax that were likely to be called for. These cribs were merchantable, and were sold from one class to another. More time was often spent upon them than would have sufficed to master their contents. Theorems were written on cuffs or on circular bits of paper hidden in a watch case, or on small sheets concealed in overshoes. Lists of required outside readings were handed in at the end of a term as completed, when the student had never looked inside the covers of the books upon which he reported. It must not be understood that all, or a very large proportion of the students did these things, but many did them, and they were not ostracized by public opinion because they did them.

To-day the honor system in use in many of our colleges is reducing cribbing to the minimum. One of its

provisions is that each student shall agree 'not to give or to receive aid in examinations.' Cribbing is still practiced to some extent — in some colleges to a considerable extent — but student opinion is against it as it was not in the eighties. The responsibility for personal behavior which has been placed upon the modern student, and his participation, in a degree, in college government has given him a new viewpoint.

The most hopeful and engaging moral quality of our modern collegian is his loyalty. He is loyal to his college, loyal to his fraternity, loyal to his team, loyal to all the interests that loom largest in his life. He is loyal to his country, as the late war has abundantly proved — loyal even to the point of laying down his life for it.

Our judgment, on the whole, is that the better class of the modern undergraduates are quite as favorable prospects as their fathers were at the same age; and much more agreeable fellows to get along with. We have gathered competent opinion on this point and it comes with surprising unanimity from practically every college in the group. Perhaps the most concise and suggestive statement is from Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth — himself a member of the Class of '85, in the middle of the decade of which we are writing, and secretary of his class. He writes:

As I look back at it, trying to be judicial and fair-minded, the period 1881–1885 was tumultuous, undisciplined, rather gray with lurid spots, rough, coarse, but with underlying ideals of loyalty and religion to which appeal could be made and was made; a keen, deep interest of some few men in literature and the intellectual life; a lack of variety in wholesome recreation and social life, with consequent reaction

to occasional outbreaks — drinking, gambling, cribbing in examinations, noise, violence, near-riot. The men then, as now, followed too much the mob at times, but it seems to me that there was a larger proportion of individualism and a rather higher regard for the man of real brains and scholarship. The period was rather more democratic, but partly of necessity; there were so very few of means and almost all were poor.

The undergraduates to-day are far more well-bred, polite, quiet, well-dressed, and sophisticated. There is no trouble about discipline in the classroom. Boys are lovable and courteous and thoughtful to their elders, though too many of them are mediocre in brains and uninformed as well as unformed.

I have had some twenty sons of my own classmates under my friendly observation as undergraduates and I find them on the whole rather better than their dads, not quite so energetic but not so erratic. I would rather have a boy of mine under the present conditions than under those of forty years ago in the '80's. I think almost every one in my day would agree with this judgment.

Our colleges to-day are facing problems far more difficult than those which they confronted in the eighties. There is the greater bulk and heterogeneousness of the student body. Compare a college catalogue to-day with a catalogue of forty years ago, and you will realize one of the problems. The names in the catalogue of 1880 are English — that is, American — those in the catalogue of 1925 show a mixture of nationalities that emphasizes the view of America as a 'melting-pot.' Some of this foreign element — the hopeful part of it — are the sons of emigrants, and equal in earnestness and ambition to the farmer boys who came to college in the eighties — but they have no background, no knowledge of or love for American ideals, and but a faulty knowledge of the English language; others are

the sons of those who have recently acquired wealth and have not learned how to use it. They, too, have no background, and they are not confined to the foreigners. They have little interest in education as such, but only for what it may do for them. They clamor for studies that are *practical*—immediately practical—that will add dollars to their bank accounts or prestige to their names. It is the duty of the college to educate these boys — or at least such of them as are at all susceptible to the influence of education — but the process lowers the efficiency of the college and makes for the mediocrity of the many at the expense of the efficiency of the few. Dr. Henry S. Canby in his stimulating book, 'College Sons and College Fathers,' discusses this problem and sees in the graduate school the only hope of real scholarship in modern America. But a few of the colleges have determined to provide scholarship in the four years of the college course, and with this in view are rigidly keeping down their numbers by a selective process that takes into consideration not only scholarship, but character, general ability, tastes, interests, and ideals. The information required for this selection is obtained from principals of fitting schools or from unprejudiced correspondents who know something of the boys. It may be said that this method produces an aristocracy of culture. But we must have an aristocracy if we would have the highest culture, and it will be no loss but rather a gain to the nation and to the world if some of the colleges will be content to remain small, to drop the unworthy and the hopeless, and to devote themselves to training for scholarship and for leadership.

THE END

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